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INDIA

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International Affairs

Ambassador to U.S. Said Feeling Neglected, Out of Touch

93AS0193B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 8 Nov 92 pp 1, 7

[Article by Suman Chattopadhyay: "Siddhartha Feels Very Alone in Washington"]

[Text] Siddhartha Ray even misses Subrata and Somen. He said, "You know, when I went to the state assembly, I could have met at least 200 people known to me. If I went to the Supreme Court, I would have met at least 50 people known to me and friends. But here? I know no one. Everyone is new. Everything is new."

After leaving his own country, the black gown of the court, and the people known to him, such as Subrata, Somen, Priya, and Mamata, he has taken upon his shoulders, in his almost-old-age, this responsibility just to fulfill the request of the prime minister. He has not known this world before. Siddhartha never thought even in his dreams that one day he would become a diplomat, from a politician. He used to go almost regularly to his in-law's house in England twice a year and traveled the whole of Europe many times. But this time, he has come to a country to which he had never been, and with a new responsibility. He left his own known world and came to Washington to become the Indian Ambassador to the United States, accompanied only by his wife Maya Devi and sister-in-law Chhaya Devi and three old faithful butlers. It is, therefore, very normal that he started to feel a little isolated at the beginning.

Besides, Siddhartha came to the United States at a time when the situation in this country is not very normal in one sense. The process of the change in the White House has begun, and it is not clear at this moment who is going where or who is getting what responsibility. Siddhartha is waiting, along with at least 12 other ambassadors of different countries, for an appointment with the President to submit his official credentials. Although a new president has been elected, Siddhartha has to submit his credentials to President Bush at the end of December. It means, he will not see the new president, Bill Clinton, before the "New Year's Party." It is simply a waste of time to speculate when he will get the opportunity to meet with President-elect Clinton.

So, Siddhartha is trying to keep himself out of the limelight for the time being because of the pressure of circumstances. When Karan Singh, the former maharaja of the state of Kashmir, who was also entitled to a 21-gun salute, came here as Indian ambassador at the time of Rajiv Gandhi, he received good publicity and an important status in the American media. But at the time of the presidential election, the American media does not have time to notice who is coming here as the Indian ambassador. Since arriving here, he has given only one official interview, to the Bengali service of Voice of America, during the last 10 days. In the interview with Voice of

America, he made no comment on the future of Indo-U.S. relations during the Clinton administration or on any debatable political issues. Although he was never a diplomat, as an experienced politician Siddhartha knows that this is not the time to open his mouth. He thought it wise to say "no comment" on almost all sensitive issues, until he properly understands the current state of affairs in the new administration.

As soon as he arrived here, Siddhartha, a "workaholic" by nature, energetically began to prepare himself for the new challenge. Because this responsibility is not only new to him, but also very difficult, this preparation is extremely necessary.

Because the position of ambassador remained vacant for a long time, the huge official residence of the ambassador was not properly maintained, and of more importance, vital diplomatic preparations to cope with the changes in the U.S. administration have not been made. The senior officials of the embassy do not have any personal contact with any close adviser of President-elect Bill Clinton. The officials of the Clinton campaign in charge of foreign affairs recently invited the representatives of different embassies to a conference. There, the representative of the Indian Embassy had to spend most of the time answering the anti-India allegations placed by the representative of the Sri Lankan Embassy. In fact, there was little opportunity to get to know the Clinton foreign policy advisers. At that conference, the Sri Lankan Embassy representative told the Clinton advisers that "one large neighboring country" is responsible for all of Sri Lanka's problems, and because of the opposition of that country, they could not permit the Voice of America to open a new station over there.

Siddhartha realized as well as soon as he arrived here that, although the U.S. administration will change, the anti-India campaign of neighboring countries will continue. He then started to meet regularly with the ambassadors of neighboring countries. He already had discussions with the ambassadors of China, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. Because Pakistani ambassador, Ms. Abida Hussain, is not in Washington, Siddhartha has not had the opportunity to meet with her.

To correct failures of the past, Siddhartha personally initiated contact with the important leaders of both the parties—Republican and Democratic. After working from 1000 to 1900 in his office, he studies until 0200. Actually, he is trying to understand the Clinton-Gore campaign's stance and promises on different important national and international issues. Clinton's stand on human rights issues and Gore's stand on environmental issues are somewhat disturbing to India. But Siddhartha is confident that he will be able to clarify properly and justly to the White House India's stand on those issues. Siddhartha is not at all worried about the terrorists of Punjab. He proved it by his behavior and movement in America, which is considered to be a strong place of the pro-Khalistani people.

Siddhartha moves around without any personal security in Washington, D.C., where a maximum number of murders take place in comparison to any other city of the world, earning it the nickname the "Murder Capital of the World." In reply to my question about whether this attitude is good or not, Siddhartha in his own typical way said, "I cannot be careless about my own security."

Siddhartha is more concerned at this moment about securing India's interest in the new Clinton administration, rather than about his own personal safety. For a couple of days in the South Block before coming here, he studied like a serious student of politics the intricacies of all the bilateral issues between these two countries. Now he knows how far negotiations have proceeded on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty [NPT], or on which points Carla Hills raised objections about the patent act. The new Indian ambassador is aware of the fact that there are some problems. But he does not think that those problems are unsolvable. He said, "You will see that those problems of NPT or IPR [Intellectual Property Rights] will be solved. At present what is important is to try to find solutions to these old problems from new angles and with new approaches. India has to take a new approach in her relationship to America. If it happens, then the American attitude toward India will also change." On this coming Wednesday, Siddhartha will discuss the NPT issue at a bilateral level. It will, however, be his first diplomatic negotiation. In reply to my question about whether he will forget West Bengal while being too busy securing the interest of New Delhi, Siddhartha said, "A Bengali is not so much ungrateful." In his own office in the embassy, he is thinking of hanging the pictures of C.R. Das and Netaji by the side of the existing pictures of Nehru and Gandhi. He said that if Jyoti Basu needs his help to bring more investment to West Bengal, he is eager to help the Left-Front government of West Bengal. A few days ago, Mr. Bangarappa visited Washington to invite more investment in the state of Karnataka. On next Tuesday, Bhajan Lal, the chief minister of the state of Haryana, is going to Washington with the same objective. Jyoti Basu tours the whole of Europe every year with his family in search of foreign investment. Next summer, if he comes to America, in addition to Sadhan Datta of Philadelphia, one of his childhood friends will stretch out his hands to welcome him. His name is Siddhartha Ray, or "Man-uda."

Papers Report, Comment on Relations With Russia

Russian Foreign Ministry Concept

93AS0395A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
30 Nov 92 p 13

[Article: "Russia Takes a Hard Look at India"]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 29.—Close India-Russia relations should not be interpreted as a deliberate pro-Indian policy, says a draft concept paper prepared by the

Russian Foreign Ministry, reports PTI. The paper has been described as a far cry from what India could have expected from the former Soviet Union, according to a Russian foreign policy expert.

Russia's policy towards India should not be "artificially restrained in the name of striking an abstract balance and maintaining an equal distance, such as in the case of India and Pakistan," the paper says.

The full text of the section on India brings out some nuances, lacking in the abridged version circulated recently by "Interfax," creating an impression that Russia no longer consider India important, analysts feel.

"On the whole the policy towards India should be pragmatically renewed and based on realistic possibilities and the legitimate interests of both sides with an emphasis on economic stimuli," the paper says.

While developing military-technical ties with India, the specificity of its stand on international problems, primarily on non-proliferation, should be taken into account, says the paper yet to be finalized. The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev, recently made some critical comments on it, suggesting that it was not adequate.

The paper also considers it "important to progressively develop relations with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, taking into account their economic potential as well as their growing political influence in West Asia and the inclination of some CIS members towards them."

Yeltsin Visit Prospects

93AS0395B New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 27 Nov 92
p 4

[Editorial: "Kozyrev on India"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's interview to the Moscow-based correspondent of an Indian newspaper should be welcomed for more than one reason. Coming as it does in the midst of preparations for President Boris Yeltsin's promised visit to India early next year, it removes uncertainties which had been created in this country about Russian policies following the dramatic political changes in Moscow. Indians have been hearing from all kinds of sources about the importance attached to India in Russian foreign policy. They have also been reading reports in our press of what the Moscow media have been saying. Mr. Kozyrev's interview suggests that by now the Russian leadership has worked out a coherent foreign policy in which India occupies an important position. Regimes change. The nature of a society too may undergo a sea-change. But national interests which are dependent on the facts of an unchanging geography remain unchanged. India and Russia are neighbours in Asia, and what Jawaharlal Nehru said in his first broadcast to the nation on assuming office as Prime Minister is still valid. He said that as neighbours the two would have much to do with

each other. We may not have a common border, as Russia and China have, but the three countries together account for a great deal of the Eurasian landmass. Common concerns find reflection in Mr. Kozyrev's reference to the ethnic conflict in Tajikistan and the shared interest of India and Russia to ensure peaceful resolution of ethnic problems in Central Asia. If he gives priority to relations with India in his foreign policy it is, as he has pointed out, because these relations are "a significant factor not only in Asian but also in global politics." He has said that India meets the two basic criteria of the Russian foreign policy—closeness to democracies and good neighbourliness. It is in this context that he has talked of the long-term goal of his country—"the formation of a balanced system of stability and partnership in Asia." Viewed in this light, there seems to be no reason why Mr. Yeltsin's visit should not prove to be fruitful for both countries. The treaty which he and the Prime Minister are expected to sign during the visit should provide a new basis for cooperation between the two countries. But friendship and cooperation, as he has conceded, do not exclude differences on some specific issues. In this connection he has specifically mentioned India's inability to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]. He himself regards the NPT as one of the "mainstays" of international security. Likewise, while reiterating the Kremlin's decision to fulfil its contractual obligation to supply cryogenic rocket engines, he advised India to remove American concern about proliferation of missiles. The last statement explains why he is so often described by his detractors in Russia as the "Westernist." India may not be able to act always on the US perception of what this country should be. Besides, India does not have to be a Westernist in rebound. This unaligned country has had many-sided relationships with the West.

Talks With China Over Border Dispute Viewed

93AS0193A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 6 Nov 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Has the Age of Brotherhood Returned?"]

[Text] Are Indo-Chinese relations going to take a new turn? If that is true, it must be said that it has taken more than a little time. Three decades is certainly not short in the context of the rapidly changing world situation. After Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China, the ice in the Indo-Chinese relationship began to melt. If we accept this fact, still a couple of years have passed. That link of friendship, however, was maintained throughout Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng's visit to India. His visit was reciprocated by the visits of the Indian defense minister and the former Indian president to China. No one could believe in 1962 or 1972 or even in 1982 that any Indian defense minister or president would visit China. (At the time of the rule of the Janata Party government in India, the Indian foreign minister had to cut short his visit because of the question of the Chinese attack on Vietnam.) In that context, if the just-ended fifth meeting of the joint working group produces any good results, that

success is, undoubtedly, an expected one. It is certainly a relief that China and India have initiated the end of possible future tension in the border region. It has been said that both countries are moving further back to their respective border checkpoints, making some arrangements for communications, and reducing the number of armed forces in the whole border region. All of this demonstrates that mutual distrust turns toward mutual understanding.

In the fifth meeting of the working group, however, the basic conflict on the border questions was not resolved. But signs of a possible solution were found. Last year, when Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng visited India, he expressed hope that, if the atmosphere in all other spheres were to become friendly, then the solution to the border question would not be a difficult one. The other spheres mean—trade and commerce, cooperation in scientific and technical fields, cultural exchange, etc. In the meantime, a considerable amount of interaction has already begun between India and China in those spheres. Even last July, at a certain point of the border, border-trade began with China. In the last meeting in Beijing, a proposal was agreed upon to expand such border-trade to other points. Giving more Indian pilgrims the opportunity to visit the holy place of Manas Sarovar is being considered. Even Chinese warships were invited to visit Indian waters. But the Chinese proposal about the border question is the most important achievement at the Beijing meeting. We have heard unofficially many times in the past that China was ready to return some western region land to India, in return for some land in the eastern region. But for the first time since 1959, it has been said officially. At that time, however, India's stand was not to give a single inch of land to China. Now, when China is flexible, will India remain firm? The sixth meeting of the working group will start the beginning of next year. When the question of a timeframe is raised on the border issue, India has to be prepared to answer that question at the coming meeting. At least, morally, she must be prepared to do so.

This new phase of Indo-Chinese relations was perhaps unavoidable in the new and changed international situation. At one time, these two neighboring countries of Asia were considered in the eyes of the world as two competitors initiated into two different "isms." It was a matter to be observed by the world whether China would be able to improve the condition of her vast population on the road to socialism led by the Communist Party, or if India would be able to develop with the help of a socialist planned economy, following the path of constitutional democracy. Now, in reality, the line of that ideological difference has faded a little bit. After the 14th Party Congress, the "Socialistic Market Economy" adopted by China has, of course, some differences from the policy of a new-market economy, which India adopted after rejecting the socialist pattern. This difference is due to the fact that, while China has a single-party government, India has a multiparty democracy. But for all practical purposes, the real ideological conflicts are

perhaps very few if scrutinized minutely. Rather, on the question of foreign capital, etc., China is more liberal than India. Second, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the waves and counterwaves in the relations between India, the Soviet Union, and China have become a matter of the past. In those days, China justified her friendly relations with the United States and Pakistan as a counterbalance to the Indo-Soviet friendship. Today she can no longer do that, and perhaps, there is no need to, because, today, China is on the United States list of "Most Favored Nations," which means a nation is of great importance to America. On the other hand, the importance of Pakistan to the United States has largely decreased. Judged from that angle, the importance of Pakistan to China must also be reduced. In spite of that, until today, China has played the role as one of the major arms suppliers and is a close associate to Pakistan in many different fields. China is doing all of these, because she does not want to cut off completely friendly relations with Pakistan. During Sharad Pawar's visit to China and in the recent meeting in Beijing, it was said on behalf of the Chinese Government that China does not support any foreign interference in the affairs of any state of India, and the integrity of India is very important to China. After the Indian Government's official stand on the question of Tibet, this Chinese stand appears to be very normal. If Japanese Emperor Akihito could visit China and seek an apology on behalf of his nation to earn Chinese friendship, then why can't India and China resolve their present conflicts in their own interests? In the history of friendship between these two nations, the events of 1962 were a grave deviation. But however unforgivable that deviation might have been, it is still rectifiable.

Concern Over Slovak Sales to Pakistan Told

93AS0381A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
6 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Seema Sirohi]

[TEXT] Bratislava (Czechoslovakia), Dec 5: India has conveyed its "deepest concern" to the Slovak government over the reported sale of 300 tanks to Pakistan.

The Indian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Mr. David Manners, met the Slovak foreign minister, Mr. Milan Knazko, yesterday to express New Delhi's regret over news reports that the soon-to-be-independent nation of Slovakia plans to sell 300 tanks to Islamabad.

The minister said the Press reports were "exaggerated" but did not deny them outright. "We will follow up matters here and in Prague about the sale. They can sell to any country but not to our neighbors," Mr. Manners said after the meeting.

Czechoslovakia will split on January 1 in one of the first such "peaceful" divorces in history. Slovakia is somewhat of a "country cousin" to the Czech republic but it has most of the arms factories. Slovak leaders' nationalist and often bellicose statements have given the new

country an image problem in the West. The apparent eagerness to sell arms to anyone and everyone has not helped matters.

Senior officials from the finance ministry in Slovakia say with some justification that Western nations are the first to sell arms to outlaw countries. They cite US sales to Iraq and the proposed talks between France and Pakistan about the Mirage jet fighter. It is unclear whether the need to stay on the right side of India will outweigh economic considerations.

Sources in the Pakistani embassy in Prague confirmed the basic facts of the story but said the Army had not made any decisions on whether to buy US or Russian tanks.

But Indian pressure will build on Slovakia through various channels and intensify with the upcoming visit of the Indian minister of state for external affairs, Mr. R.I. Bharia. The visit is a goodwill trip to facilitate the creation of a new country. The Slovak foreign minister told the Indian ambassador that he was interested in economic assistance from India.

Mr. Manners offered four scholarships and fellowships to Slovakia under the Indian technical and economic cooperation program that is extended to developing countries. He also presented a draft prepared by the Indian commerce ministry on the future trade agreement which will be based on hard currency.

Regional Affairs

Bangladesh, Pakistan Criticized on Inflammatory Comments

93AS0333B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 16 Dec 92
p 1

[Article by Prabhash Joshi: "With Whom Will God Side in the dispute as To Whether He Resides in Mandir or Masjid"]

[Text] Pakistan and Bangladesh are telling the United Nations and Islamic organizations to protect the Muslims of India, and that the destruction of the Babri Masjid is an international Islamic issue. They are asking that this historical Islamic mosque be rebuilt at the same site. Nawaz Sharif has condemned the act of destroying temples in Pakistan and the attacks on Indian lives and property, saying, "Whoever commits these condemnable tasks has not served Islam." When the structure in Ayodhya was demolished, Hindu fundamentalists also expressed such goodwill. We have been hearing from the Akalis for the last ten years that the terrorists who kill innocent people cannot be Sikhs. All people who practice factional politics speak the same language. They do not care for the lives, property, places of worship, and rights of the minorities. They are just tools of a political game.

The attacks on Hindus that took place in Pakistan and Bangladesh after the Babri Masjid was demolished, as

well as the temple that was destroyed there, provided neither additional protection nor peace to the Muslims of India. They could not say that the destruction of the Babri Masjid was avenged. If Indian Muslims are pawns of the Congress and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] political chess game, they are also tools in the hands of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and international politics. In addition, they are also the basis of establishing an Islamic nation. It is an accepted fact that Pakistan was born out of action against India and Hindus. It was built on negative feelings about India. They kept the minds of their people occupied by spreading stories about atrocities committed on Indian Muslims by Hindus. This allowed them to keep their minds off of more important topics.

If India expels most Muslims and becomes a Hindu nation, then it will strengthen Pakistan and Bangladesh most of all. A secular democratic India is very dangerous for Pakistan's existence, because it challenges the basic ideology on which Pakistan was established and now exists. Therefore, Pakistan wants India to continually boil in the fire of factionalism like oil in a wok. To this end, it continues to hail Muslims in India from across the borders, telling them that Pakistan is their protector. It knows that this will make Indian Muslims suspect in the eyes of the Hindu majority. This way, Indian Muslims cannot be a part of Indian society and solve their daily, personal, and social problems. The social homogeneity that existed among Hindus and Muslims for centuries cannot be reestablished if Indian Muslims are kept at odds with the Hindus. This helps Pakistan's interests much more than it helps fundamentalist Hindus, factional politicians, or Congress leaders.

No, Pakistan and Bangladesh are not protectors of Indian Muslims. They are using them as bait to catch the bigger fish, India. They also know that by demanding the reconstruction of the Babri Masjid at the same site, they are angering the fundamentalist Hindus who started this craze about destroying the structure. They know that it does not matter whether it is right or wrong from a historical or archaeological perspective. Most Hindus believe that the Babri Masjid was built where Rama was born. That temple was destroyed at Babar's orders, and Mir Baqi built a mosque there. This structure is not there now; however, by demanding that the mosque be rebuilt there, they are strengthening the fundamentalist Hindus. They are stopping the Hindus from returning to their liberal, tolerant, and secular traditions. They are making arrangements to encourage Muslims to demand that the mosque be rebuilt, to keep them angry and dissatisfied permanently. The Indian Muslims should understand this game being played by Pakistan and Bangladesh. More than that, however, it is important that the Hindus understand this ploy.

Hindus, 82 to 85 percent of the country's population, are carrying this country. This secular democracy was born because of their tradition. This is an example of thousands of years of their character, and it is the very goal that has proved to be real over time. Will we let our gold

become iron just because we have to respond to screams from Pakistan and Islamic fundamentalist Arab nations? Will we destroy our well-proven and time-tested character just because, during a dark period of history, the atrocities committed by barbarian invaders have to be responded to now? Will we burn in the fire of reaction and become an aggressor, just like the Muslims and the English wanted us to be? Should we continue to be the same religious society that is our national pride, or should we destroy ourselves in the narrow-mindedness created by fundamentalist factionalism? If we want to continue to be an Indian society, we should not react to Pakistan's and Bangladesh's efforts and become like them. If we accept that Indian Muslims are agents of Pakistan, then we will be creating a vacuum in our minds.

The wound felt by the Sikh mind when the Akal Takhat was destroyed is being felt by Indian Muslims in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Masjid. Those who consider destruction of the 465-year-old mosque important for warding off evil will not comprehend it. It might have been a structure for the last 50 years, and for another 42 years it might have been Rama's Temple. Those who do not care for the Constitution, law, democracy, and beliefs of other social systems, and other people's feelings and had gone to rebuild this skeleton believing it be only a temple, should know that not only destroyed temples, but old and dilapidated temples, ponds, wells, and inns have also been rebuilt in this country for centuries. Rebuilding also has a system, and a place that is rebuilt should also be revered.

What happened in Ayodhya on 6 December cannot be considered acceptable or respectable in any Hindu tradition. This was a transgression committed by persons who had become non-Hindu in their frenzy to take revenge, and no traditional and civilized Hindu is proud of this act. However, we have to carry this stigma with us. Those who are proud of this reaction are no different from the people who view as heroes the assassins of Indira Gandhi, Beant and Aswant, and of General Vaid, Sukkha and Jinda. These very people ask why the Muslims are angry at the destruction of the structure. The desire for revenge has made these people blind, deaf, and totally bereft of feelings. However, these people have been blackened in their own fire and are isolated from the compassion and sagacity of the greater Hindu society.

If we remain quiet in their defense, then we will be doing to our Hindu society exactly what the Akalis did to the Sikh society. There are people who are filled with the teachings of the Sikh gurus but are afraid to speak openly against the terrorists. We should not leave Hindu society in the prison of Singhals, Katiars, and Ritembehas the way these terrorists made Sikh society their hostage. The way Muslim fundamentalists do not communicate their feelings to the greater society, we cannot do to our society. This is not the way the Hindu society functions, and Lord Krishna said, "Fear of other religions hurts all religions." The Hindu society is an open, self-confident,

and independent one. It has been like this for thousands of years and continues this way. What the Islamic fundamentalists have done to the Muslim society and what the Sikh terrorists did to the Sikh society is not what we will do to the Hindu society, because doing so means we would make ourselves the enemies of our own religion. It is our duty to be open-minded, tolerant, and all encompassing. Lord Krishna said that even fighting a war is religious, if it is fought without the feeling of enmity. Fighting a war is not a sin if it is fought without any desire for happiness, unhappiness, profits, losses, victory, or defeat.

The Indian Muslims may have accepted the Islamic religion forcibly or voluntarily, but socially and culturally they are fully Indian, and their minds are composed of the same traditions as the Hindus. What is the reason that the Muslims who moved from India to Pakistan consider themselves foreigners there, socially and culturally? Why cannot they relate to the Sindhi, Pushtoon, Punjabi, and Baloch societies there? The people of Bangladesh are Muslims, but still, they separated from Pakistan because socially and culturally they are Bengalis. Pushing them toward Islamic fundamentalism is wrong for Indian society and the nation. If they consider themselves non-Indians, they would be calling themselves refugees here, because Pakistan and Bangladesh are neither their motherlands nor their own nations.

After the destruction of the Babri Masjid structure, it is important that Hindus and Muslims in India come to an agreement and try to understand the whole issue. It is not the job of the Indian Government to build the Babri Masjid or Rama's Temple. When Sardar Patel built the Somnath Temple, Mahatma Gandhi told him clearly that building a temple was not the job of a secular government. Therefore, it does not matter if Pakistan and Bangladesh ask that the Indian government build the Babri Masjid. The Muslims and the Hindus of India should not play into Pakistan's hands. The truth is that Rama's temple situated under the structure cannot be removed. The court ordered that it would stay there. Later, the lock on the temple was removed, and it was opened to the Hindus to worship there, and Muslims were told not to enter the area. All of this was done according to the court's orders. Now, removing Rama's statue and building a new mosque for fundamentalist Muslims would be pushing India to become a Hindu nation, which would jeopardize all mosques. Whether a temple or mosque is built there, it should help establish religious faith and not be the cause of unending communal hatred.

The JANSATTA, in its 9 December editorial, said that the center of the new Rama's Temple should be exactly where Rama's statue was found. However, the Babri Masjid should also be constructed in the same area. A garden for communal harmony should be built between the two. The special tribunal of the Allahabad High Court canceled the former BJP government's control over this area by saying that the government was unfair. This also paved the way for the Indian government to

control this area honestly. The Indian government will consult the Supreme Court under Article 143, and take over the whole area and give it to a national trust, which may build Rama's Temple according to national consensus. A separate trust should be established for the Babri Masjid. Defense Minister Sharad Pawar said in Bombay that the temple and the mosque would be built within a year. If we want to make goodwill and harmony permanent, then we must keep the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Babri Masjid Action Committee away from these new construction efforts. The hands of both these organizations are bloody, and this blood should not be poured on the new Rama's Temple and the new Babri Masjid.

Internal Affairs

Rao meets With Newsmen in Delhi 9 Dec

93AS03764 Madras *THE HINDU* in English 10 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[TEXT] New Delhi, Dec 9. While according the topmost priority to restoration of peace and normality in the country, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today spelt out the tasks, both political and administrative, proposed to be undertaken to meet the situation, in the wake of the Ayodhya vandalism.

Apart from mentioning the known decision of banning communal organizations, he spoke of the need for addressing the question of excluding non-secular parties from the conduct of a secular democratic State.

His 50-minute talk with a group of journalists and his replies to questions showed that he was clear about how to go about in the new situation and the consequences of the steps contemplated by the Government. He strongly defended the measures taken or announced so far, including the arrest of the leaders of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and allied organizations, and the proposed ban. He did not accept the view that these steps would aggravate the situation. It was the duty of the Government, he said, to come out with appropriate response. The decisions were well-considered and took into account all pros and cons and "took us forward."

Future of BJP Governments

The Prime Minister was asked whether the future of the three BJP Governments—in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh—was involved in the decision on ban. "The answer lies with them. I do not take decisions in advance," he said. What the question implied was whether, in the Center's view, the position of the BJP Governments would become untenable after the ban on the communal organizations and whether it would warrant action against them. And without being explicit, the Prime Minister put the onus for the next steps on them. This clearly means that the future of the

BJP Governments would depend on whether they carry out the Center's instructions of matters, arising out of the ban (expected to cover the RSS [Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh], the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal).

How would he deal with the problem posed by the construction of a temple at the site of the demolished structure in Ayodhya? Because of his concern for bringing back normality, the Prime Minister expressed his inability to provide the answer, adding: "But I guarantee that the answer will come".

How would he go about re-building the demolished structure? Again a note of caution in his reply—"all these things are possible after we bring back normality. The process of consultation and bringing people together is always there. It may be in a different format."

Will he refer the Ayodhya issue to the Supreme Court? "All possibilities are there. I can't say just now. Let us wait till normalcy is restored." He was sure the majority of the Hindus did not support those who demolished the structure.

Mr. Rao recalled what he had said in his presidential address at the Tirupati plenary of the Congress(I) that an electoral contest between secular and non-secular parties was neither fair nor healthy nor in keeping with the Constitution. He cited the case of the BJP which, invoking the name of Ram, found itself catapulted to power in four States and increased its tally from two to 88 in the Lok Sabha.

To counter the challenge of communal forces, the Prime Minister wanted a joint front in favor of secularism and the secular mode of thought. Secular parties had different programs on economic and other issues, but it was possible, according to him, for them to get together on the common factor—of secular approach for the sake of the country's survival. He had had talks with representatives of the Left Front earlier in the day and impressed on them the urgency of joint action and joint approach by secular parties.

Mr. Rao criticized the way Parliament had not been allowed to function—and the way the Houses were told, without regard for reason or norms, that "we will not let Parliament proceed unless a particular leader was produced." This was an obvious reference to the BJP which wanted its leader, Mr. L.K. Advani, brought before the Lok Sabha could proceed with its business.

As for the adverse reaction in other countries to the recent happenings here, Mr. Rao seemed confident of setting it right. What was needed was to put facts before them, he said, while referring to the point that even basic facts about India's Constitution were not known and even Indians in the U.S. tended to interpret it in the light of the American Constitution.

The Prime Minister dwelt at length on the "extreme perfidy" with the nation and the Constitution on the part

of the BJP Government of U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and the way it threw to the winds propriety and duty, violated solemn assurances in affidavit after affidavit to the Supreme Court, to the National Integration Council and the Center that it would not do anything in violation of the judicial orders against construction on the 2.77-acre land and how it breached the commitment to protect the disputed structure.

Till the last moment, the Center, he said, was assured of a token kar seva in the prescribed manner but in practice it was a different story. He mentioned how, after great hesitation, the BJP Government agreed to the despatch of 25 companies of the Central security forces to Ayodhya at 1 p.m. on Sunday (half an hour after the kar sevaks entered the complex) but when they were on the move, they were told to go back by the magistrate on duty. And when the Center demonstrated, it was assured that they would send fresh instructions "which never were given."

The Prime Minister explained the reason for the delay in the takeover of the complex (of the demolished structure) because of which the "kar sevaks" got time to put up the structure of the temple. The two advisors who were sent to Lucknow soon after the promulgation of President's rule on Sunday could not land there because of the fog and had to come back here, said Mr. Rao. They went there only the following day but were told by the officers of the Central forces on the spot that the operation to clear the complex could be undertaken only at night.

Defends Action

Mr. Rao defended his action (in not dismissing the U.P. Government earlier) because of his regard for the letter and spirit of the Constitution. "I am honestly convinced that what I did was the only thing that could have been done," he said, adding: "If failed it was a failure in overstepping the Constitution." He did not agree with the suggestion that the Ayodhya events had eroded his moral authority. "The moral authority of the BJP has been eroded. There has to be some trust, some transparency. It can't be below-the-belt activity all the time.

The Prime Minister denounced the attack on mediapersons, saying: "Any hand raised against a pressperson or cameramen is to be condemned."

Asked whether the Ayodhya events meant a setback to his policy of consensus, Mr. Rao replied: "There are so many issues on which consensus is possible." The Prime Minister was for political polarization on right issues, otherwise people got going on wrong ones. "Every Prime Minister, specially Indira Gandhi, had sought political polarization on right issues," he said.

Commentary Urges Narasimha Rao To Resign

93AS0317D Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 12 Dec 92
p 4

[Commentary by V.R. Lakshminarayanan: "Narasimha Rao Must Resign"]

[Text] In the parliamentary system of government it is a basic principle that once a leadership is shattered or flawed, it should resign. If inefficiency has been exposed, the next step is resignation. In case of recalcitrancy, pressure must come through parliament and the political arena. There is a very apt example in history. Britain failed to make preliminary preparations to fight the Nazi's attack, and for this Chamberlain had to resign. The prime minister held talks with Vishwa Hindu Parishad holy men (Sadhus) and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], who were adamant in not reaching any agreement, and these talks ended without any decisive agreement. Narasimha Rao did not take any initiative in the matter, stupidly believing that eventually some miracle would happen. Britain was adopting a policy of appeasement in its dealing with Hitler at that time. Narasimha Rao's situation is similar. Arjun Singh and other colleagues vehemently opposed this trend. But nobody resigned as Fden did. This opposition and the opposition that emerged in Britain are similar.

In our country also there is a case of this kind in the recent past. When the India-China border war broke out, Krishna Menon had to resign as minister for defense. With open hostility against Menon, the finance minister purposely failed to allocate necessary funds for buying war equipment, and strictly speaking, he too should have been responsible for the debacle. The Congress party, as well as the public, demanded the resignation of Krishna Menon. But Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stoutly opposed the idea. Without caring for the opposition of Nehru, Mahavir Tyagi declared, "You force us to elect another leader by refusing to accept our demand." But Menon resigned his position as defense minister. Menon may be a man of good quality; but when ministers fail to perform their duties, democracy does not show any mercy or compassion.

In the temple-mosque affair, at a time when tensions were running so high, the home minister wrote hundreds of letters to the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, Kalyan Singh, giving him good advise, though not in clear terms. He was satisfied with merely sending letters to him without taking any stern steps. Chavan had to implement Constitution objectives with the help of our army, making him a laughing stock. Chavan had to hide behind the judges' black robes. He has fallen in the esteem of his people. He does not seem to be good enough for the high position. The Indian people feel that for some years at least Sardar Vallabhai Patel could have been with us to solve our problems.

The responsibility for the shabby handling of the entire issue will flatly fall on the shoulders of Narasimha Rao. Narasimha Rao has become a victim to his own way of

hesitating to act with determination at the right time. Just like a snail hiding in his shell, he isolated himself. Behaving like Hamlet for giving us this shock, he is the one who is responsible. He, of his own accord, took it upon himself to deal with this issue. So he had no way of escape at all. He did not even have a subcommittee of the cabinet to discuss or debate the proposals. He has been in full command of the situation. He has few trusted persons to help him. A few retired officers from remote corners who were given new leases of life were also with him. At the National Integration Council meeting no meaningful plans or firm solution evolved, and the prime minister was given the full responsibility. We must admit that Narasimha Rao is no King Solomon. With all his wisdom, King Solomon could not have solved the Ayodhya problem in a week's time. Even the opposition parties have cheated the people. Some parties thought they could nominally be arrested and gain reputations as great heroes.

Just as Chamberlain trusted the assurances given at the time, the prime minister and his group believed the solemn statements that Singhal and Kalyan Singh made—that they would not aggravate the situation. Narasimha Rao is indeed a good man, and a scholar too. But he miscalculated the situation. Just as Hitler threw his past agreements into the trash can, calling them mere papers, Kalyan Singh's administration did the same thing. They have studied history well. A few hundred thousand people assembled there. They are not believers of non-violence. There the poison of religious fanaticism is injected through eloquent speeches and flowery language. To believe that at such a meeting songs would be sung and the people would be dispersed afterwards is simple madness. But the prime minister and his advisors expected a big miracle would happen there. Thus, they led us to this big catastrophe. Therefore we must demand that all of them, whether temporary or permanent, en bloc, resign and go. They no longer should be allowed to insult the nation and degrade the prestige of the nation. It is not a mere question of a temple-mosque problem. No country can afford to have an administration with totally inefficient persons.

Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at a military academy function once said, "When the war breaks out, even the military commanders, well-trained in the art of protecting peace, become the first victims of the war. They are demoted. This is strange."

A young captain stood up and asked Nehru, "If a commander is dismissed suddenly, what will happen to the army without a commander?" Nehru replied, "Dynamic colonels and bright captains will be promoted and they will win the war." The public now wants a change of this kind.

In the name of God, we appeal to the prime minister. Please resign from your position. There are many capable persons to head the administration. We need not have to hold fresh elections; because of the emotionally charged situation prevailing in the country the results

may be distorted. The ruling party commands a majority in the parliament and the country as a whole.

Of course, it is sad to demand the resignation of Narasimha Rao. But these are very dangerous days. A prime minister with an iron determination and high efficiency is needed for the country. In the words of Narasimha Rao, "The nation should be able to gather courage and directly face the danger." For this new responsibility, the prime minister and his officers are not suited to the task. Narasimha Rao may be an elder statesman. But he cannot be our leader.

Durability of Rao Government Questioned

93AS0399C Varnasi AJ in Hindi 24 Dec 92 p 6

[Article by Rampal Singh: "How Durable and Trustworthy Is Rao's Government?"]

[Text] Sometimes a strong government loses its way and acts autocratically, and other times a weak government paves the way for dictatorship. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government exemplified the former and Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's government is preparing the ground for the latter. The Narasimha Rao government could not take the steps necessary to promote a healthy democracy. It is sad to see that this government, instead of making decisions, is rolling aimlessly in the ocean like a boat with its sails and rudder broken.

It is often said of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao that he avoids making decisions and leaves everything to time to resolve them. He considers time the greatest doctor, which heals every sickness. This policy appears to work until the problems stare right in one's face. However, when there are challenges to the nation, immediate answers are required, and the leader of the nation cannot leave those to time. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is fully responsible for the situation that is causing our nation to fall into the valley of uncertainty.

He did not demonstrate discretion or sagacity in resolving the Ayodhya issue. Prudence dictated that he create a situation to avoid confrontation. This could have been achieved by talks and some goodwill and not by political ploys. The prime minister asked for four months for an honest resolution of the problem when he started talks between one of his cabinet members, Kamalnath, and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Advani. Mr. Advani had accepted the prime minister's message sent to him through Kamalnath, his environment minister, considering it a logical course at that time.

If the prime minister had shown some strength, after showing wisdom, and remained firm on this stand that he had agreed with Advani, then this fire would not have raged all over the nation. However, the Narasimha Rao government did exactly what the V.P. Singh government did. V.P. Singh issued a directive in October 1990 with the goal of resolving the Ayodhya dispute. The BJP supported the Janata Dal government at that time. Mr. Advani and Marxist Harikishan Singh Surjit welcomed

this directive; however, Sayyed Abdulla Bukhari, imam of Delhi's Jamma Masjid, became angry. He pressured V.P. Singh, and the prime minister of the nation went on his knees and recalled the directive within 24 hours.

V.P. Singh's government was also a minority government, like Narasimha Rao's. The prime minister's rivals within the party opposed his plan to resolve the issue involving 2.77 acres of land. The left-wing parties also became upset. Both of them thought that, since Narasimha Rao had made some agreement with the BJP over the appointments of chairman and vice chairman of the Lok Sabha, he was going to resolve the Ayodhya issue with the BJP's help. Once they felt it, prime minister's rival Congress leaders threatened to revolt. The left-wingers also took a threatening stance, and the Delhi prime minister went down on his knees once again. He refused to accept the solution that he himself had recommended. It was announced that the prime minister had neither talked to nor sent any proposal to Advani through environment minister Kamalnath.

Mr. Advani reacted very strongly over the prime minister's attitude. He called Prime Minister Narasimha Rao an untrustworthy person and also announced his decision not to talk with him in the future.

When a prime minister is so weak and unstable that he first sends a proposal through his cabinet member and then denies it, then he definitely loses his credibility. Narasimha Rao is repeating the mistake that V.P. Singh committed. The BJP withdrew its endorsement at that time and now has stopped dialogue with this government. The results of both these developments are the same. The kar sevaks were killed in Ayodhya during the first occurrence and people were killed all over the world because of what kar sevaks did this time. What happened in October and November of 1990 is being recreated in December of 1992. The Indian government's prime minister seems to be associated with all this.

They raised noise in the Lok Sabha saying that they did not want to hear Narasimha Rao. The Congress Lok Sabha members said that this person has gotten us killed. Railway Minister Jaffar Sharif said that this person has not left the Congress Party in a shape that allows us to show our faces even in the South. The left wing and non-BJP members of the Lok Sabha raised slogans demanding Advani's arrest, rebuilding the mosque, and imposing restrictions on the BJP and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad]. The Congress Party members were silent.

In order to save his position as prime minister, Narasimha Rao announced that the mosque will be rebuilt and communal parties will be restricted. Later, BJP and VHP leaders were arrested.

Prime Minister Rao has shown his lack of spine through his actions. The Arjun Singh and Sharad Pawar groups have become very active. The cabinet members of Narasimha Rao's government and the Congress Party's

legislative wing passed a confidence motion in his support. However, this confidence motion only points to the increasing lack of confidence in Narasimha Rao. Where there is full confidence, one does not have to make an announcement about it.

Analysts Say Rao Erred in Dismissing Elected Governments

93AS0339A *Bombay BOMBAY SUNDAY OBSERVER*
in English 25 Dec 92 p 20

[Article by Michael Battye]

[Text] New Delhi—Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao has made a serious error in his battle against them a juicy issue by dismissing the governments in states they run, analysts said on December 16.

Whether the issue of democracy thrown up by the move would be fatal for Rao's Congress party, which has a wafer-thin majority in parliament, was not immediately clear, they said.

"It's a gift from heaven," said one senior Western diplomat. "But whether it's a gift that will translate into power at the center is hard to tell."

Some of Rao's followers were worried by his latest move in the battle against the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which Rao blames for the destruction of the mosque on December 6 and Hindu-Muslim carnage that followed.

"There is a palpable gloom in the party about the future," said one Congress MP [member of Parliament] sitting in parliament with five colleagues who murmured their agreement.

Political analysts said Rao's reason for dismissing BJP administrations in Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan states, was the critical error.

The mayhem in the Congress-controlled states of Maharashtra and Gujarat was far worse, the analysts said.

After the mosque in the northern town of Ayodhya was destroyed, Rao accused the BJP of having scant respect for the constitution. Now it is Rao who is being accused of cynical manipulation of the constitution.

"This is unacceptable even to those, like myself, strongly opposed to the BJP," said veteran political analyst Pran Chopra of the Center for Policy Research, an independent think-tank.

"All the culprits of December 6 escape the blame heaped on them and they are garlanded with martyrdom," he said.

"This is very unwise action. It has caused more of the neutral ground sympathy to shift in favor of the BJP and the neutral ground is very crucial."

The BJP rose from the political fringes to become parliament's official opposition on the back of an emotional campaign to replace the 16th century Ayodhya with a temple to Lord Rama.

After the mosque was demolished, despite BJP promises it would not be touched, some party leaders said it was a great mistake that would hurt it.

On December 16, however, the BJP was on the attack.

It swiftly seized on the issue of constitutional property, calling the dismissals of its state governments a declaration of war against democracy. Some of its MPs carried placards into parliament calling Rao a "murderer of democracy."

"The grounds for dismissal are rather transparent," said independent analyst S. Nihal Singh.

"It is obvious that Narasimha Rao was forced into taking his course for the sake of his own political survival."

It is an open secret that Human Resource Development Minister Arjun Singh, who for months demanded Congress launch an anti-BJP campaign while Rao talked compromise, has mounted a challenge for the prime minister's office.

Some insiders, however, said they thought Rao would survive because Arjun Singh did not have enough strength in a party dominated by MPs from the south to unseat India's first southern prime minister.

Nor, said one glum senior Congress leader, would changing leaders improve matters.

"Even if someone else takes charge, it's not going to help the situation. It has gone beyond the point of personalities."

RSS Said Ready To Pursue Decentralization

93AS0331C *New Delhi JANSATTA* in Hindi 16 Dec 92
p 7

[News Report: "Sangh To Start Campaign to Arouse People"]

[Text] New Delhi, 15 December—The RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] is prepared to lead a nationwide effort to incite the people. It does not feel any negative effects from the restrictions. After the Ayodhya incident and the government announcement, the people reacted angrily, and this strengthened the RSS. As a first step to stirring up the people, it has planned to establish direct contact with over ten million people.

After the Ayodhya incident, the top leadership of the RSS met recently near Delhi. About one and one-half dozen leaders participated. At this meeting, they made plans to counter the situation that has resulted from legal restrictions and also made plans for the future. The RSS is experienced in running an underground operation. This time, it will raise the question of citizens' rights in

the minds of the people. To this end, they have established committees with all kinds of names at local levels. The RSS has decided to make the government strategy fail.

The government is trying to fully involve the RSS in litigation by making it illegal. Legal experts have informed the RSS. The government is working on involving the RSS in litigations under the tenth article of the law that banned the party. The RSS is attaching very little importance to litigation in its plans. It will use its whole strength to make the campaign strong.

The top leadership of the RSS met in an atmosphere of self-confidence. One week after the Ayodhya incident, they gathered with reporters from every part of the country. The RSS was banned first in 1948. It was a political type of accusation. The circumstances told the government that such an accusation could not stick. In that atmosphere, the RSS faced opposition at every step. Still, 60,000 people took part in the Satyagraha. The RSS was banned again in 1975. At the time, it was one of the parties that had joined the JP [Janata Party] campaign. Over 150,000 of its members were jailed during the emergency.

The RSS leadership believes that it is alone this time. All other parties are seen as being against it. In 1974, it was not alone. It had joined the group that opposed the emergency. This time the RSS is alone as a party; however, the people are with it. That is why the RSS is getting ready for another effort with new confidence. It is receiving widespread endorsements in the villages because of the Ayodhya incident. The RSS itself never thought about such a success. On 6 December the kar sevaks tore down the disputed structure, and this was a time of uncertainty for the RSS. It supported protection of the structure. Balasahab Deoras, the RSS chief, also condemned the destruction of the structure. His statement clarified the stand of the RSS.

Balasahab's statement also explained that the temple campaign could not control the kar sevaks. After this, there were two options. One was to take the moral responsibility for destroying the structure and cancel the campaign. The second option was to establish relationships with those who destroyed the structure. The people were looking for other options also. Before it, the government saved the temple campaign with its announcement.

The government announced that it would build a mosque on the disputed sight. It also put restrictions on the RSS and other parties. These announcements were horrible examples of intellectual myopia. After the disputed structures were torn down and the statue was replaced there, the people felt that the temple had been established, and that the task of building it was complete. Therefore, questions that had been raised about the trustworthiness of the RSS leaders had been changed. The RSS is receiving unprecedented support and trust.

The RSS stopped its activities after the restrictions were imposed. However, it did not close itself. It has established a wide network of underground activities. A few leaders have been jailed by the government. They also went under the RSS flag. The arrest of Moropant Pingle is an example.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Said Going Underground

93AS0339B Bombay BOMBAY SUNDAY OBSERVER
in English 25 Dec 92 p 6

[Text] New Delhi (REUTER)—The organization which helped power the Hindu nationalism blamed for religious violence in India is preparing to go underground to beat a ban imposed on it, sources close to the group said last week.

The secretive Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS or National Self-Service League) will have a network in place to continue propagating Hindu nationalism despite the ban, said one officer who has been associated with the group for more than three decades.

"We have five million active workers and many more sympathizers," said the officer, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Our work will continue."

The network will soon launch a huge publicity campaign and organize demonstrations for spreading religious hatred. Two Muslim fundamentalist groups were also banned.

The RSS, which says its aim is to foster Hindu culture, was formed in 1925 in the central Indian city of Nagpur, where its headquarters are still located.

It is extremely publicity-shy and is best known in India for its morning drills where men in khaki shorts and white vests are put through military exercises and trained in unarmed combat.

The RSS has been banned twice before, after the 1948 assassination of India's independence hero Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu zealot alleged by the government to be linked to the RSS, and during the 1975-77 national emergency proclaimed by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

"We emerged stronger both times," said K.R. Malkani, a senior BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader. "At those times we had no members in parliament, no one to question government. This time we consider the ban a joke. The RSS is in the hearts and minds of the people and you can't ban that."

Malkani said the 1948 ban led to the emergence of the Jana Sangh party, the predecessor of the BJP, and the 1975 ban ended with members of the Jana Sangh in a coalition government.

"If the government continues with this madness and there are mid-term elections, no one will be able to stop us."

The government says at least 2,000 members of the RSS and its associated groups have been arrested. But the ban on the organization was given publicity before it was actually implemented, giving many key activists time to flee.

"It is not because we are scared, but it's best to remain out of the picture because we can continue with our good work," said one member of the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] hiding in Bombay.

Other RSS sources said those arrested were low-level activists and that many key members were free and establishing the underground network.

"It was decided well in advance who should be arrested," the activist in Bombay said. "We are now waiting and watching the government's moves."

Demolition of Mosque Called 'Act of Treason'

93AS0317E Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 7 Dec 92 p 1

[Editor's Comments: "Treason"]

[Text] The atrocity that happened on Sunday in Ayodhya is a disgrace to our national prestige. The fact that India's main opposition party is prepared to stoop even to the level of deceitful and brutal behavior to achieve its religious objectives has made it clear. India's ruling party has set a new record of achievement in taking backboneless steps. If the official ruling party had not shamelessly been inactive, if the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] had not adopted a policy of sabotage and a strategy of sitting on the fence like a cat waiting to gain political ends, the mosque and temple problem, which has persisted for the past few years, could not have gone to such gigantic proportions. Our feeling of brotherhood, already slimmed by religious fundamentalists, undoubtedly will be marred by Sunday's senseless and unacceptable events.

The fundamentalists, who advocate the establishment of a Hindu empire here, have been nurturing outmoded ideas and slogans deep in their minds and this has caused the action on the controversial building. Once there was a temple on the spot; then, in the name of Babar, a mosque was built. The fundamentalists argue that this injustice has to be set right, and this has been a powerful passion among the fanatics in the camp of the advocates for a Hindu empire. They say that what was done to the Hindu temples centuries ago in the name of Islam must be done to the mosques. They may have proudly proclaimed that the time has come to pay back the Muslims. Unfortunately, they forget that history is changeable. Worse, their leaders fail to realize that this fight between brothers will cause India, as a country, to face a mighty

loss. Just to achieve their narrow-minded objectives, the leaders revive old fears and distrust among a section of the people.

BJP leaders deny responsibility for what happened in Ayodhya and no one is sure enough to take them for their word. There is ample reason to believe that in the final days before the vandalism in Ayodhya, they chose to be led by the rabid ring leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal. Nothing can possibly explain the volte face by the leadership that had once decided not to let its members of parliament take part in "kar seva." No less a person than L.K. Advani was constrained to announce that he was himself setting out to Ayodhya to participate in "kar seva," besides the party president Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi. Their subsequent pronouncement showed that they abdicated to the extremists the right to control their thinking.

Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singh had given an assurance that the order of the Supreme Court would be carried out. The assurance has not been kept by the state government, a brazen and shameless abdication of its constitutional responsibility. After all that happened, Kalyan Singh had no other alternative but to resign as chief minister. It is debatable whether, in the following chain of events, Kalyan Singh fell as a victim, was just watching the events and taking no action, or was responsible for inciting people. Nobody could believe that the chain of events that took place was beyond the control of the state government.

If the state government files the affidavit as directed by the Supreme Court and then says such an unexpected event was not anticipated by them, nobody will believe it. There is a gravely frightening aspect in the whole affair. The chief minister is bent on not carrying out the court order and yet gives a solemn statement that he will carry out the order. This is the frightening aspect upon which an opposition party operates in such an unworthy fashion. Sunday's events cannot be a tribute to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's statesmanship. This event highlights that he fumbles and hesitates to act when it is essential that he take immediate steps. He has cultivated this hesitation and indecisiveness and elevated it as a new administrative strategy. He imagined that he could avoid the painful task of making a decision. His calculations might have been so many. [sentence as published] He might have thought that he could go a step further than Arjun Singh. But in the final analysis, it is clear that at a crucial time, in order to prevent a disaster in India, he has failed miserably to make a firm decision and act on the matter. This backboneless act of cowardice has given the country such an unbearable burden. It has now been exposed to the world that Narasimha Rao and Dr. Joshi are political leaders, guided by people aspiring to their political gains and by unprincipled groups. History will never forgive such people. To reduce the impact of the atrocities committed at Ayodhya, the leaders must take immediate steps.

The shattered hope of this country has to be revived. The only way to do this is to initiate a kar seva—a constructive kar seva. The president of the republic should lead the effort. To correct the wrongs and to revive national unity, a memorial should be erected at Ayodhya, a symbol of national reconciliation. The Raos, the Joshis, and the Kalyan Singhs have to carry out the project as a duty to the nation, against which treason has been committed.

Center Outlaws Five Communal Organizations

Terms of Ban

93AS0393A Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Dec 92
p 1

[Article: "RSS, VHP Among Five Organisations Banned"]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 10. Four days after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the Central Government tonight outlawed the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Bajrang Dal, the Jamaat-i-Islami Hind and the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS).

An official spokesman said the five organisations had been banned under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, by a gazette notification issued by the Union Home Ministry. State Governments are being instructed to enforce the ban.

Grounds for Ban

In the case of the RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal combine, the grounds for the ban are specific—"participating in the demolition of the structure in Ayodhya on December 6." The RSS has been banned for the third time since Independence—in 1948 after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination and the second time in 1975.

Apart from the specific issue of demolition, the three groups, along with the ISS, have been outlawed for "promoting disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between different religious communities." The Jamaat has been banned for preaching "secession."

Under the provisions of the Act, which has been used to outlaw groups like the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) in recent days, the ban will remain in force for two years.

Any person who continues to be a member of the banned groups, takes part in meetings, contributes to or receives or solicits any contribution for the purpose of the unlawful association or assists the groups in any other way shall be punishable for a term which may extend to two years.

The Act also enables the Government to notify any place in its opinion which is being used by the unlawful organisation apart from prohibiting the use of movable property.

Any person who continues to take part in unlawful activities or "advocates, abets, advises or incites the commission" of such activity shall be punishable for a term extending up to seven years. The law allows the Government to crack down on the monetary transactions of these organisations as well.

Second Step

Following the arrest of the top BJP-VHP leaders, the ban on the RSS and other associated groups as well as the Jamaat and the ISS, this is the second step taken by the Central Government to intervene in a fast-deteriorating communal situation.

The Government, in its "first set" of decisions announced three days ago, had decided in principle to outlaw communal organisations. Today's notification, hence, comes as no surprise—it is on expected lines.

Ever since the demolition of the Babri Masjid, non-BJP groups had been demanding that a ban be placed on "communal groups." After obtaining the opinion of the Law Ministry, the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA) met on several occasions to take a decision on the ban.

Implementation of Order

Of considerable interest will be the implementation of the ban order by individual State Governments. Considering the problem of dual membership, BJP Governments might be in a bit of a spot. For instance, the Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Shanta Kumar, is a self-professed member of the RSS. Since he will be responsible for the BJP Government executing the Home Ministry notification, a problematic scenario for the Centre is very much on the cards.

In the case of the Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan Governments, fun by the BJP, similar problems are likely to arise—will these administrations pay "lip service" to the law or will they actually implement the directive of the Centre?

(Already, the Centre has received a report from the Madhya Pradesh Governor about the deteriorating law and order situation in the State, which is being considered).

Given the fact that the ban on these organisations was being considered for some time, an opportunity has already been afforded to members of such groups to escape the provisions of law.

Normally, following the ban on an organisation, a crack-down on the group begins—arrest of leaders follows in due course apart from the sealing of property. To what extent the Government will go after the leaders and

members of these organisations and how individual States implement the orders remain to be seen.

Aggressive Stance

The ban on the RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal comes in the wake of their aggressive bid to construct a "mandir" on the spot where the Babri Masjid stood in Ayodhya. Taking up the theme of "kar seva," this combine has been locked in confrontation with the Government on the issue of constructing a Ram mandir.

A fundamentalist organisation, the RSS is organised on strict cadre lines, with a well-structured chain of command. Along with the VHP and the Bajrang Dal, it has been aggressively engaged in propagating the concept of "Hindutva"—using the issue of Ayodhya as focus.

Founded by Keshav Baliram Hegdewar at Nagpur, its top leaders continue to direct the operations of the organisation from there. The RSS is well-known for its "shakhas" where physical training and ideological indoctrination are imparted.

In recent days, it is the VHP which had taken over the campaign for construction of a mandir at Ayodhya, with the Bajrang Dal lending the militant edge to the combine.

The Islamic Sevak Sangh, which has Kerala as its base, was founded in November 1990 as a counter to the RSS and boasts of a membership of over one lakh. Apart from engaging the RSS, it has also challenged the established Muslim leadership in Kerala.

The Jamaat, interestingly, which has a following among the minority community, has not been banned for promoting disharmony or hatred, but on the charge of preaching secession. A fundamentalist organisation, the Jamaat is believed to be active in several parts of the country.

As per the law under which the five organisations have been banned, the Central Government is required to refer, within 30 days, the notification to a tribunal for the purpose of adjudicating whether or not there is sufficient cause for declaring the association unlawful.

RSS Suspends Activities

The RSS meanwhile announced the suspension of all its "routine activities," including the shakha, following the ban. The RSS general secretary, Mr. H. V. Seshadri, said in a statement in Delhi that several of its leaders would go underground while others would fight through "constitutional means" the "unjust and unlawful" ban.

Prof. Rajender Singh told reporters that "fortunately there is no ban on the press and the courts are free." This would enable the RSS to carry forward its "struggle in many ways."

UNI reports from Nagpur:

"We are shocked and sorry," said the RSS chief, Mr. Balasaheb Deoras, reacting to the ban on his organisation and its allies. Mr. Deoras, who is ailing, conveyed his reaction through his private secretary, Mr. Shrikant Joshi.

Ironically, the ban came on Mr. Deoras' 78th birthday today. "It is a birthday gift to Mr. Deoras from the Centre," Mr. Joshi remarked ruefully.

ISS Dissolved

UNI reports from Alleppey:

The Islamic Sevak Sangh has been dissolved. The ISS president, Mr. Sayyed Abdul Thangal, told UNI in Alleppey tonight that the dissolution of the ISS followed the ban on the RSS.

The ISS founder-leader, Mr. Abdul Nazer Mahdani, had hinted at a news conference during the day that the Sangh would be dissolved if the RSS was banned. He confirmed the dissolution of his organisation when contacted over telephone.

Notification Issued

93AS0393B Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Dec 92 p 4

[Article: "Government Issues Notification on Ban"; boldface words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 11. As a follow-up to the ban on five "communal" organisations last night, copies of the notification and follow-up guidelines were circulated to all State Governments and Union Territories today, the Minister of State for Home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, said. The Centre expects progress reports on the steps taken against these groups in the next couple of days.

Asked why the follow-up action in the form of sealing of properties of the RSS-VHP Bajrang Dal combine and the Jamaat-i-Islami and the arrest of leaders, the Minister said: "Wait and see." Mr. Jacob said the overall communal situation in the country had shown distinct improvement.

All powers under Sections 7 and 8 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, exercisable by the Centre, have been delegated to the State Governments/ Union Territories.

'Alien religions': The notification issued by the Home Ministry banning the RSS said the organisation had been "making imputations and assertions that members of certain religious communities have alien religions and cannot, therefore, be considered nationals of India, thereby causing and likely to cause disharmony or feeling of hatred or ill-will between such members and other persons."

According to the notification issued by the Home Ministry, the RSS "swayamsevaks" had participated in the

demolition of the structure commonly known as Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid, situated in Ayodhya..." Certain other facts and materials are also in the possession of the Centre which have led it to the conclusion that the ban on the RSS was called for.

In the case of the VHP, Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalmia, president of the outlawed group, had declared on November 8 in New Delhi that the "Ram Janmabhoomi temple" would be constructed in the same way it was "demolished by Babar" and that "kar sevaks" were pressuring the leadership that they should be called not to construct the temple but demolish the Babri Masjid, the notification said.

Mr. Ashok Singhal, general secretary of the VHP, in a public meeting in Bilaspur on November 14 said the Muslims would be taught the language of force in case they failed to understand the language of reasoning.

Mrs. Vijaya Raje Scindia, member of the VHP Governing Council, said in Patna on November 23 that "kar seva" would be carried out with full determination, defying all restrictions, if required, including even the court orders. "She also averred that the construction of the Ram temple was a matter of faith and it could not be confined to the jurisdiction of the judiciary. She also added that the temple would be constructed at all costs and for which the so-called Babri Masjid will have to be demolished," the notification maintained.

Mr. Giriraj Kishore, VHP joint general secretary, said in New Delhi on November 28 that in case the legal battle and politics came in the way of "temple renovation" at Ayodhya, direct action in respect of all other mosques built after the demolition of temples could not be ruled out. Parishad members have also been charged with the demolition of the Masjid.

The Bajrang Dal has been outlawed for organising "exercises, drills or other similar activity intending that the participants in such activities shall use criminal force or violence or knowing it to be likely that the participants will use criminal force or violence against other religious communities."

Call for plebiscite: In the case of the Jamaat-i-Islami Hind, the notification says that Mr. Abdul Aziz, Naib-Amir of the group, while addressing a public meeting at Malerkotla on August 1, 1991, observed that the Government of India should hold a plebiscite on Kashmir.

On May 27, 1990, Mr. Sirajul Hasan, Amir of Jamaat, declared at a meeting on Delhi that the separation of Kashmir from India was inevitable, the notification said.

Mr. I.C.S. Abdul Nazar Madani, chief of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS), which has since dissolved itself, had stated at a public meeting at Poonthura, Thiruvananthapuram district, on June 30, 1992, that thousands of Muslims had been killed and tortured in Kashmir and

the authorities were not taking effective steps and Muslim women were being raped by Hindus with the support of authorities.

In a recorded speech for public circulation, Mr. Madani had stated that a Muslim could not live as a Muslim in this country and Muslim brothers should be prepared to get organised as also question the right of the people to hoist the national flag in Kashmir, the notification said, giving reason for banning the group.

PTI reports:

Offices sealed: The headquarters of the VHP and the offices of the RSS and Bajrang Dal in New Delhi were sealed, police said.

The VHP headquarters at the Sankatmochari Mandir in South Delhi's R. K. Puram area were locked up and large posse of policemen present there. A similar scene was witnessed at the RSS office in Central Delhi's Jhandewalan area and police personnel were preventing anyone from approaching the building.

Banned Organizations React to Edict

Muslim Groups

93AS0391A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 12 Dec 92 pp 1, 9

[Article: "Jamaat, ISS (Islamic Sewak Sangh) Questioned India's Sovereignty"]

[Text] New Delhi, December 11. While the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and Bajrang Dal have been banned mainly on the charge of their participation in the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JEIH) and the Islamic Sewak Sangh (ISS) have been declared unlawful for questioning the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India, it was officially stated here, reports PTI.

Separate notifications banning the five organisations under the Unlawful Activities (prevention) Act were issued last night.

The notification with regard to JEIH pointed out that Mr. Sirajul Hasan, Amir of JEIH, had declared in a public meeting in Delhi on May 27, 1990 that the separation of Kashmir from India was inevitable.

The JEIH's Naib Amir, Mr. Abdul Aziz, had stated at a public meeting in August 1991 that the government of India should hold a plebiscite on Kashmir.

On the basis of these statements, as well as other facts and materials in its possession considered to be against the public interest to disclose, the Central government "is of the opinion that the JEIH is an unlawful association."

The government charged the chairman of the Islamic Sevak Sangh, Mr. Abdul Nazar Madani, with making

inflammatory speeches with a view to promoting, on grounds of religion, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between different communities.

The notification said Mr. Madani at a public meeting in Thiruvananthapuram on June 30, 1992 had stated that thousands of Muslims were killed and tortured in Kashmir and authorities were not taking effective steps and Muslim women were being raped by Hindus with the support of the authorities.

The notification on the RSS pointed out that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad president, Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalmia, at a public meeting in Delhi on November 8 last had declared that the Ram Janambhoomi temple would be constructed along the same lines as it was before it was demolished by Babar and that kar sevaks were pressuring the leaders that they be called not to construct the temple but to demolish the Babri Masjid.

Another VHP leader, Mr. Ashok Singhal, stated that Muslims would be taught the language of force in case they fail to understand the language of reasoning.

Mrs. Vijaya Raje Scindia, MP [Member of Parliament], had said that kar seva would be carried out with full determination, defying all restrictions, the notification said.

Banning Hindu Cultural Organizations Condemned

93AS0317C Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 12 Dec 92
p 4

[Editorial: "Unwise Decision"]

[Text] It is of course necessary that action be taken against instigators of communal violence, who thereby, threaten our nation's secularism. But at a time like this, banning Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, Jamaat-i-Islami Hind, and Islamic Sevak Sangh, does not seem to be a wise step. When the government has to contain communal violence, which has resulted in killing thousands of people and destroying property, the ban is not going to be helpful at this critical juncture.

Usually there are gangs who indulge in looting and killing, taking advantage of situations of this kind, and the government would have to be on the alert. Considering the law-and-order situation at the present time, the various wings of the government entrusted with responsibilities, including the police, have a big burden of maintaining law and order. To entrust them with implementing the ban on these organisations would be a great burden. They may face a dilemma of deciding whether to concentrate on maintaining law and order or implementing the ban. Radicals belonging to the banned organizations may organize violent activities, and the police would have to face this kind of trouble. As a result, the communal violence may further deteriorate.

Secondly, to implement the ban is not an easy task. In certain states where the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is in power—Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh—it is doubtful that there will be cooperation in implementing the ban. Therefore, the Central Government will have to consider what to do about it. Or it may have to dismiss such state governments. If such a stern action is taken, the banned organizations and the BJP may gain enormous public sympathy. Even if these steps are possible in the state administrations, perhaps some sections, without giving full cooperation, will delay action unnecessarily. If the court holds the ban invalid, the public may think that the government has no valid grounds for accusing these banned organizations.

When all these aspects are pointed out, it is not our intention that severe action should not be taken against those who incite communal violence. The action taken by the government should be adequate and also productive. One such action best suited for the purpose is to arrest workers and leaders of those organizations who initiate and promote communal violence, under suitable sections of the Indian Criminal Code.

In order to effectively combat organizations like the RSS, there should be an intensive campaign to educate the public at the grass-roots level about secularism. Administrative actions alone cannot bring about any results. But on the contrary, the Indira Congress at the Center does not seem to think on these lines. Considering the tragic events following the Babri Masjid demolition—the arrest of Advani and the public announcement—the party does not seem to have developed a well-coordinated policy based on a pragmatic understanding of the situation. It looks as if it wants to extricate itself from blame for the demolition of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya.

Article Points Out BJP's True Chances For Governing

93AS0358E Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
3 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by G. M. Telang: "The BJP's (Bharatiya Janata Party) Chance; Imperatives of Power Pursuit in a Democracy"]

[Text] Is faith above the rule of law? This question has been a crucial aspect of the Ayodhya dispute. The constant refrain of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS] has been that an issue inextricably bound up with faith or religious sentiment cannot be disposed of by courts of law. Some of the BJP leaders, too, have from time to time echoed the same notion, though in guarded terms. The dangerous notion has, fortunately, received a setback now. This is the most significant implication of the UP Government's assurance to the Supreme Court that it will discharge its responsibility to ensure that no construction activity takes place on the land adjacent to the Ram, Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid complex in view of

the Allahabad High Court's interim order for the maintenance of the status quo on the land. Thus, the Supreme Court's intervention has somewhat defused the crisis precipitated by the misconceived decision of the VHP-Bajrang Dal to start "kar seva" at the site from December 6. By specifically agreeing to limit the "kar seva" to the singing of "kirtans," and "bhajans" and performance of "yagna," these organisations have tacitly accepted the supremacy of the Supreme Court, at least for the time being. This is no mean gain for Indian democracy itself, considering the unprecedented strains to which it has been subjected by the strident insistence that a demand based on deeply-felt sentiment for Rama must be deemed to transcend all other considerations.

Many Hindus genuinely believe that Babri Masjid was built upon the ruins of a desecrated Rama temple. The Ayodhya issue has acquired ominous proportions not so much because of this belief itself as because of the manner in which the agitation for the construction of a new temple at the site has been carried on. This is a case for patient evolution of a consensus on how best to satisfy the sentiments of the Hindus without offending those of the Muslims. The trouble is that the agitationists for a Rama mandir have allowed themselves to be carried away by their fervour so much so that they have appeared to proceed on the assumption that the Indian state should have no say in the matter at all. It must be hoped that the Supreme Court's intervention will mark the beginning of a reversal of this extreme stance. It is the BJP leadership which is best placed to bring about such a vital change in the whole approach to the surcharged issue.

The task is two-fold. First it involves a managerial challenge. Secondly, a conceptual restatement of the BJP's outlook on the vexed question of the place of religion in politics will be helpful. As far as the first aspect is concerned, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, Mr. L.K. Advani, Mr. M.M. Joshi, Mr. Kalyan Singh, Mr. Shekhawat, and other top leaders of the party must make the most of the new twist given to the Ayodhya controversy by the Supreme Court's intervention to rein in the VHP-Bajrang Dal zealots. So far the entire leadership has appeared to have followed the path of least resistance. Every party based on an immutable ideology of one kind or the other is often faced with problems created by its militant followers. The latter cannot be given a free run in the politics of democracy. Even the Marxists in West Bengal have often had to curb the revolutionary ardour of some of their followers.

There have been a few signs, though far too few as yet, of the BJP governments in the four northern states having realised the vital importance of administering them strictly within the constraints of the rule of law. They are now called upon to display far greater firmness in handling those of their partisans whose cock-eyed ideas of faith-driven mass politics have posed a threat to constitutional rule. The Bajrang Dal Chief, Mr. Vinay Katiyar, has aggressively asserted that his organisation is not bound by the Supreme Court's orders. He has

publicly joined issue with Mr. Advani on the nature of the Ayodhya question. He has attacked Mr. Advani for holding that this was a "political" issue and has maintained that it was a "religious" one. This is a semantic skirmish which cannot hide the fact that the real issue is that of checking anarchic conditions.

Despite the outpourings of extremists like Mr. Katiyar, the seasoned BJP leadership is now on a better wicket than at any other time in the last two years. This much is clear from notable voices of moderation. Swami Chinmayananda, a BJP MP [member of Parliament], has, for instance, declared that "kar seva" will be performed without violating the court order. Mrs. Vijayaraje Scindia, a trustee of the VHP, has concurred with him. Prof. Rajindra Singh, joint general secretary of the RSS, has also agreed that "kar seva" will cover all activities excluding the one prohibited by the court. The new atmosphere is thus one which is conducive to the Dharma Sansad due to meet on December 4, also falling in line and refraining from embarrassing the UP [Uttar Pradesh] Chief Minister. Much, of course, will depend upon the farsightedness with which Mr. Vajpayee, Mr. Advani and other BJP leaders will guide the Rama agitation in the new situation.

Apart from averting the still lurking danger of a flash-point in Ayodhya, the BJP leaders have also to put their immediate concern in a redefined perspective. Mr. Vajpayee has done just this on Sunday, in his keynote address in Bhopal in the Dr. Rajendra Prasad memorial Series, 1992. The subject was "Secularism: The Indian Concept." It turned out to be an erudite treatise on the place of religion in a modern state. He stressed *inter alia* that "the concept of equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal respect for all religions and all citizens is the essence of secularism which must form the basis of the Indian Republic." The speech will hopefully have a wholesome impact on the BJP rank and file inasmuch as it seeks to rebut the criticism of the party as a vehicle of rank Hindu communalism.

At the height of the Cultural Revolution in China, Chairman Mao was widely seen as a crusader of the world's first "guerrilla state." Ayatollah Khomeini brought into being the first "mullah state" in this century. Thank heavens, both China and Iran have changed course since then. Their rulers today seem to be convinced that there is no alternative to the building up of a genuinely modern state even if with distinctive features dictated by their own history and civilisation. Let it not be said that 40 years after India emerged as republic with a democratic constitution, atavism has found a fertile soil here.

If the BJP is to establish itself as a truly national party, it must demonstrate its will and capacity to rise above sectarian passions. In the final analysis, Ayodhya will be the litmus test. If the party passes this test, its chances of challenging the Congress on the national plane will be bright. The way will then be open for a stable two-party system.

Bharatiya Janata Reacts to Government Measures**Advani Statement**

93AS0392A Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Dec 92
p 9

[Article: "Our Movement Will Get Strengthened: Advani"; quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 9. The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] leader, Mr. L.K. Advani, has made a direct attack on the President, the Vice-President, the judiciary and "all those in authority" for describing those who pulled down "an old structure which ceased to be a mosque over 50 years ago" as betrayers of the nation and destroyers of the Constitution.

A statement was issued by him here late on Tuesday night just before he was taken to Agra along with the BJP president, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] leader, Mr. V.H. Dalmia, and Ms. Uma Bharati, MP [member of Parliament], all of whom were arrested yesterday.

The one and-a-half page statement defends the Ayodhya events that have set off rioting throughout the country and across national borders. Pointing out the grim events that overtook the Sikhs after Indira Gandhi's assassination and the uprooting of Kashmiris from their homes, Mr. Advani attacked all constitutional authorities for describing the 'kar sevaks' who demolished the Babri masjid as betrayers of the nation and destroyers of the Constitution.

To quote him: "And today when an old structure which ceased to be a mosque over 50 years back is pulled down by a group of people exasperated by the tardiness of the judicial process, and the obtuseness of the executive, they are reviled by the President, the Vice-President, and political parties as betrayers of the nation and destroyers of the Constitution and what not."

His word of caution to the Government—that "irresponsible outbursts" of those in authority would provide a "justification and rationale to communal elements in the country to precipitate violence"—reads more like a veiled threat. He said that "the (communal) frenzy is the direct upshot of the vicious tirade unleashed by Government and the official media against the 'kar sevaks' and he also blamed police for causing deaths by firing at Muslim mobs, especially in Bombay."

It is worth recalling that the BJP top brass had repeatedly said that if their Government in Uttar Pradesh [UP] was dismissed the entire country would be plunged into chaos. Mr. Kalyan Singh, former U.P. Chief Minister, had said this categorically at the party's Bhubaneswar national executive committee meeting while talking to the press. He had virtually held out the same threat earlier at the National Integration Council meeting in July.

Mr. Advani cautioned the Government against this approach and added that the pronouncements against the "kar sevaks" who demolished the Babri monument would only strengthen the movement.

Falsehood, says Soz: A sharp reaction to Mr. Advani's justification for the destruction of the Babri mosque came from Mr. Saifuddin Soz, former MP and member of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. He said that Mr. Advani's statement was based on falsehood. While Mr. Advani's statement had referred to 50 Hindu temples destroyed in Kashmir, Mr. Soz said that minor damage has caused to five temples in 1986, and these were repaired "within a week at Government expense." He accused Mr. Advani of "inciting passions at a critical time when restraint should be the watchword for everybody."

On the arrest of the BJP leaders, Mr. Ram Jethmalani, MP and senior advocate, said that there was no justification for arresting them as these were not leaders who would abscond. The arrest, he said, "seems to be designed to project the Prime Minister and his incompetent government as capable of firm and decisive action." He asked for their immediate release.

The BJP parliamentary party has condemned the arrests describing them as arbitrary. The party will make an appeal to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha for the early release. The arrests were described "as an assault on free speech and on the democratic functioning of the parliamentary system."

Sham arrests, says IUMML [Indian Union Muslim League]: Mr. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait and Mr. G. M. Banatwala of the Indian Union Muslim league described the arrests as a "sham" and criticised the government for arresting these BJP leaders under bailable offences. The IUMML demanded that the BJP, the VHP, the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and the Bajrang Dal be all declared unlawful organisations and their leaders dealt with severely.

General Secretary Meets Press

93AS0392B Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Dec 92
p 3

[Article: "BJP Warns Against Attempt To Rebuild Mosque"]

[Text] Madras, Dec. 9. Mr. K.N. Govindacharya, All Indian General Secretary of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], has warned that any attempt to rebuild the demolished Masjid at Ayodhya would lead to serious consequences. It would endanger the social situation and mean a reversal of the historic process, undermining the socio-political fabric of the nation, he told a press conference here on Wednesday.

Mr. Govindacharya could not give a convincing answer when asked whether the pulling down of the mosque did

not mean a reversal of the historic process. He said collective steps for communal harmony and restoration of peace were the need of the hour. Trying to find scapegoats would further complicate the situation.

On the decision to ban all communal organisations, he said the Centre was confined to issuing mere statements because of the power struggle within the Congress(I).

The situation warranted neither condemnation, condonation nor admiration he said when reporters asked him why the BJP had not expressed any regret over the demolition of the mosque.

Asked whether there was any substance in the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi's allegation that there was collusion between the BJP and the Congress(I) in the destruction of the mosque, the BJP leader said it was very unfair and the height of imagination.

Strategy Toward Center

93AS0392C Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Dec 92
p 6

[Article: "BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) Strategy To Counter Ban on Organisations"; quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 12. The details have yet to be filled in. But the outline has been given. Faced with a ban on organisations which have been the lifeline of its Ayodhya 'movement,' the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] 'has accepted the challenge,' to use the words of party vice-president, Mr. K.L. Sharma. It 'will fight back on both legal and political fronts.'

On the legal front the BJP intends to contest in the law courts the ban on the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the Bajrang Dal, while trying to keep the BJP itself clear of violation of the ban order. 'We need not clarify the past antecedents of our members, many of whom have dual membership of the BJP as well as one or the other of the banned organisations,' Mr. Sharma said today. In his view 'unless our members take part in RSS/VHP/Bajrang Dal activities now, after the ban has become effective, the ban order will not apply.' The order is not and cannot be applied retrospectively.

On the political front the BJP hopes to continue to 'enjoy the privileges of a nationally recognised political party' which gives it the right to mobilise public opinion in its favour and carry on with other political activity. The strategy, as decided at present, seems to be that the BJP ruled State Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan 'will fulfil the Constitutional obligations of implementing the ban orders as long as they (the Governments) are there,' Mr. Sharma added.

The BJP can thus be expected to use its current political strength to the extent possible and dump its constitutional responsibilities in the States by giving up their

Governments, when it feels it is ready to go to the 'people's court.' It is certainly not expected to give up its stand on the Ayodhya issue—that it is not judiciable, that the so-called 'Hindu' sentiment must be 'respected' and the Ram temple must be built at the very spot where the Babri Masjid (turned makeshift temple by stealthily installing a Ram deity in it in 1949) stood for 450 years till it was demolished on December 6.

Aggressive stance: Politically it has already taken an aggressive stance. The blame for what happened at Ayodhya has squarely been placed by the party on the shoulders of the Narasimha Rao Government. The Kalyan Singh Government in Uttar Pradesh (now dismissed) has been absolved of all blame for the former Chief Minister 'tried to do his best' and accepting moral responsibility he resigned. On the other hand the Prime Minister has been charged by the party for attempting 'to be too clever by deceiving one and all.'

Not a word has been said by the BJP about the on record false assurances given to the Supreme Court through sworn affidavits by its Chief Minister.

In fact the BJP has gone to the extraordinary length of asking not only the Congress led by Mr. Narasimha Rao, but the left parties and the Janata Dal to 'share the blame for playing a negative role on the Ayodhya issue.' And by the negative role, the BJP leaders have made clear they mean not helping the RSS/BJP/VHP/Bajrang Dal combine to get exactly what they wanted—a complete surrender by the Muslims.

The contradictions in the BJP's political approach is obvious in every statement its leaders make. Mr. K.R. Malkani, party vice-president, today outlined the steps the Centre should take to contain the damage done internationally to India's image by the Ayodhya incident. Yet, he is not prepared to admit the damage in the first place. While publicly accusing the Congress of a policy of 'appeasement of the minorities' Mr. Malkani today said he wanted the Government to meet ambassadors of Muslim countries and Muslim foreign journalists to explain to them that India's Constitution confers special privileges on its minorities.

Dismissal of BJP Governments Seen Violation of Democracy

Will Strengthen Communalism

93AS0329A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 15 Dec 92
p 6

[Editorial: "The Game of Banning"]

[Text]The government of India has initiated legal proceedings against four of the five banned communal organizations. Steps cannot be taken against the fifth organization, the Islamic Sevak Sangh, because the Kerala-based organization has dissolved itself. In addition, the intent of the legal restrictions was to prevent any

future wrongdoings rather than to punish these organizations for their past activities. Four days after making this decision, the government published a list of the restrictions to be imposed and the names of the leaders to be arrested. Two days after publication, the named offices were sealed and the designated people arrested. A review of these accomplishments of the past seven days clearly indicates that, instead of crushing these communal organizations, the government was contented with completing the bureaucratic formality of enforcing its decisions. Does Narasimha Rao not have the willpower to strictly enforce administrative measures, or does he believe that such measures are not adequate to respond to the challenges posed by the communal organizations? Keeping in view the image of the prime minister, it is more appropriate to say that he lacks the willpower to do so. As an administrator, he has failed, and if such leniency continues, not only his party members will not condone his actions, but also members of his own cabinet will not take it kindly. On the issue of Ayodhya alone, for about a year now he has been blamed for acting in accordance with the secular policies of the Congress. He is not doing what the secular membership of the Congress desires be done against the Sangh family. The secularism of the Congress is like encouraging a burglar to rob and then to alert the one to be robbed. During the days of Nehru and Indira Gandhi, secularism was enforced with great care. During the days of Rajiv Gandhi, it started to bleed when he surrendered before the Muslim fundamentalists in the case of Shahbano and unlocked the doors of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya. The Ayodhya aftermath was the direct result of this policy. Narasimha Rao was under tremendous pressure to release this "monster of destruction" on the country.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government of Uttar Pradesh, which actively participated in ousting the constitutional basis and the rule of law, is now keen to enter into an agreement to save the BJP governments from termination in three other states. Restrictions have already been announced on the activities of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), and Bajrang Dal in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh. By so doing they deny the Government of India the opportunity to dissolve these state governments. This policy is in contrast to the tactics of Kalyan Singh's former BJP government. That (state) government in the hopes of achieving martyrdom, deceived the Constitution, law, and democracy, and ended in disgrace. Even the "Babars" of Hindu fundamentalism who demolished the Babri Mosque will not remember them with respect. The intent of those BJP party members, legislators, parliamentarians, and ministers and chief minister who regard the Sangh (RSS) as their mother organization, is doubtful when the BJP questions any prosecution of the Sangh, because they refuse to regard their mother-to-be their mother if confronted with the law? No one will have any faith in the BJP after watching their disrespect for the Constitution and the rule of law on the Ayodhya issue. A party which regards the judiciary and the legislative and executive

branches subservient to its interests and its leaders, and whose understanding and devotion to the Constitution is negligible, which honestly and faithfully enforces the restrictions and bans imposed on the communal organizations, will fail to generate any faith in its actions. It is not necessary to remind the self-acclaimed BJP leaders and their Uttar Pradesh government that they have already demonstrated the extent of their faith in the Constitution, rule of law, and democracy, and that the country has discerned their real values. This is how the Congress government at the Center and the BJP governments in the states are playing the game to control the communal organizations. This is not because they have collaborated, but because they do not intend to let each other gain any political leverage. Arjun Singh who was central in pressuring for the dismissal of these governments and for a fierce strike on the communal organizations, does not himself recognize that the days of old Congress secularism are over and its implementation now will give rise to Hindu militancy instead of bolstering secularism.

President's Rule Unjustified

93AS0329B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 17 Dec 92 p 4

[Editorial: "President's Rule in Three States"]

[Text]President Shankar Dayal Sharma, on the night of 15 December, dismissed the three BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] governments of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution and imposed president's rule. Prior to this decision, the issue was profoundly discussed in two central cabinet meetings. The defense minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, conveyed the decision of the Central Cabinet to the Rashtrapati Bhavan because the central home affairs minister, Mr. Shankerrao Chavan, was indisposed. Almost all the state chief ministers in the country, except the dismissed ones, who have termed this action contrary to democratic principles, have welcomed this decision. The chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. Patwa, had no reaction. The state legislatures of these three states have also been suspended. This historic action is a direct result of the communal strife that has engulfed the country since the Ayodhya incident. Soon after the dismissal of the Uttar Pradesh government it was speculated that all the BJP governments would go. This decision was made after serious consideration of the issues and was guided by the ideology of the Congress high command and the theories of the leftist parties. Certain influential members of the Central high command and the Central cabinet argued for strong action against the BJP governments. Mr. Surjit Singh, the leader of the leftist parties, and Mr. Jyoti Basu, the chief minister of West Bengal, pressured Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and submitted that the BJP governments have no moral right to continue business as usual. In this context, talks about a possible partnership between the Congress and the leftist parties have emerged. A more visible outcome is expected later.

Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, has objected to this alliance. He said, "the Center should be ready to bear the severe consequences." The BJP leaders, on the dismissal of their governments, have developed an emergency scheme. The details are not available yet. Atal Behari Vajpayee has also said that Rao should call for an election of the Lok Sabha. After the recent promulgation of president's rule in four states, there is no doubt that mid-term elections are necessary. The question to ask is, how reasonable and timely is the issue of reelections at this time, when the country is passing through a phase of communal strife and is surrounded by serious threats. It is sad that at the present moment various political parties appear to be engaged in manipulations in their own interests. Priority for establishing peace at home is second to none. Only after that should come the race for power. First extinguish the fire at home then worry about the power. Therefore, the restrictions on the various political parties and the arrest of their respective leaders seems to create an uneasy and unrestful feeling in the public. The current reaction to imposition of president's rule in the three states is also mixed. The demand for change in the Central administration also contributes to the uncertainty and instability during these difficult times. Probing for a combined solution to these problems is proving to be a factor responsible for the increased threat to the country. It is therefore imperative to stay away from party-related interests and to work first for the national interests. To stray from main issues and to consider party interests, at this time, is immoral and indecent.

It is obvious that presently the country is witnessing experiments with several political thought processes. All have the single goal of acquiring power. In this difficult hour, it is not even proper to demand the resignation of the prime minister. Now when the country is passing through a difficult time, to promote or to develop differences in the Central Government and to talk about the politics of votes is criminal. The leader of the Janata Dal, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh and BJP [Samajwadi Janata Party] leader, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, say that Narasimha Rao should resign. It is true that, for the good of the country, no one should have second thoughts about relinquishing power. The attitude of certain members of the Central cabinet and Congress high command has also created a partisan state. The time is not right to seek individual or partisan gains. The issue of peace and security of the country's 800 million people is paramount. The subjects for serious thought are the issues involving the Ayodhya aftermath and its present and future influence on the country. The resolution that has been accepted in the Rajya Sabha in regard to the Ayodhya issue is indicative of the seriousness of the situation. In the Lok Sabha the proceedings had to be postponed for a day, due to the unprecedented uproar during the debate of the issue. With such impediments, how will democracy prosper in the country? From time to time various political parties have organized different types of processions for the benefit of the people. The

proclaimed objective of these activities always is to foster the popular wellbeing, but in reality it is all done to secure self-serving desires. It is necessary in the present explosive condition of India to initiate a procession of peace and goodwill. Will the patriotic people rise above their selfish interests and party politics and relay the message of peace in all four directions?

Scholars See Illegality

93AS0329C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 17 Dec 92 p 2

[Text]A majority of the city scholars believe that the dismissal of the state governments in Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh is not a healthy tradition. This is a direct blow on the constitutional structure of the union. This action has not only injured the fundamental unionist aspiration of the Constitution, but has also stirred the thoughts of the people. There is no doubt that the Congress will have to pay the price in the future.

While discussing the current events, several scholars compared the present conditions with the days of the 1975 emergency, and said that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is slowly progressing toward dictatorship. The dismissal of the properly elected governments of the three states is an indication of this approaching danger.

Now There Is No Other Way Except Mid-Term Elections

Professor Harish Chandra Srivastava of the Sociology Department of the Kashi Hindu University said that after the dismissal of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] governments there is no other way but to hold mid-term elections. He said that, after dismissing four governments, elections are necessary, and if the BJP wins the election, which is a profound possibility, then the constitutional basis of the Central Government will cease to exist.

Professor Srivastava said, "I am not privy to intelligence, but based on the information available in the press, it can be safely assumed that Rao's recent decisions are indicative of some special strategy."

Pointing to the current affairs, he said that previously the Congress was on one side of the field and all other parties occupied the other half. The issue of Ayodhya and its nationwide reaction has, however, totally changed this old concept. Now the BJP alone covers the first half and the Congress with all other political parties shares the other half. Such has happened for the first time in the history of India.

Now the BJP has its own Field

P.D. Kaushik, a Professor of Political Science, while commenting on this complex constitutional issue, says that it is true that Article 356 of the Constitution provides for the dismissal of a state government in the event of the failure of the constitutional basis in the

state, but we will have to keep in mind that our Constitution is not unitary. It is unionist. It is this unionist structure that gives the right to each state to adopt policies and to mold itself in the image and ideology of its citizens. The Central Government banned or restricted certain organizations or groups; that was well within its powers. But the dismissal of the governments in the states of Himachal, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh is not justifiable. Professor Kaushik says that in any democracy the voice of the people is supermost, and as such Mr. Rao has no other alternative but to hold mid-term elections. He said that it is a change of tremendous magnitude in Indian politics that a political realignment based on BJP or non-BJP association is taking place. The principle of might-is-right indicates that the one who is powerful attracts every group. Previously such a position belonged to the Congress, but now the time has moved the BJP to that status.

Dismissal Was Necessary to Maintain The Constitutional Basis

[Excerpt] *Dr. Harihar Nath Tripathi, the former Head of the Department of Political Science at the Kashi Hindu University, says that, in order to preserve the constitutional basis, the Central Government had no alternative but to dismiss the governments in the three states of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh wrote in his dispatch to the Center that the state government had failed to maintain law and order. The Governor of Rajasthan reported that the state government is not capable of implementing the decisions of the Center. On the other hand, all the three chief ministers not only openly accept affiliation with the banned organizations but have also from time to time challenged the Center to arrest them. In a condition like this there is no other way but to dismiss the governments. It should also be remembered that dismissal of a state government is less of a legal issue and more a political one. The Rao government, after examining all possible avenues to solve this problem, opted for this dismissal under difficult political conditions.*

The Prime Minister Attacks the Unionist Structure

Dr. B.N. Singh, the Principal of the Harish Chandra College, has used highly critical language in commenting on the current situation. He says that if the dismissal is considered constitutional, what then will be termed villainous? This is out right banditism, that does not require any principles or law. It is agreed that those kar sevaks violated the sanctity of the Constitution in demolishing the disputed structure in Ayodhya, but our learned, educated prime minister directly attacked the very basis of the unionist structure of the Constitution. Dr. Singh said that he had considered the issue from every possible direction, and he was unable to find any legitimate basis for the dismissal of the popularly and legally elected governments. The record of the three governments in controlling the nationwide riots provoked by the Ayodhya episode is far better than the actions taken by the governments of Maharashtra,

Gujrat, and Karnatak. Why, then, such a partial treatment? Clearly, on the political scene, the throw of the dice is governed by party politics and its vested interests. True patriots are being called traitors, and people like Bukhari are being recognized as patriots. In response to the question, "If this action taken by the Center is in error, how then is it that all parties except the BJP are supporting it," Dr. Singh's quick response was that offending the Hindus carries the least "risk." The Hindus are the only ones generous enough to suffer this ridicule. Humiliating people of any other faith carries tremendous "risks." That is why the Center is always attentive to a small number of militants of the Punjab, Kashmir, Jharkhand, and the so-called Gorkhaland and tries to please them. But the Center does not heed the pleas of the vast segment of the population, a quarter million of which reached Ayodhya, endangering their lives, in response to a simple call.

Dr. Singh said, while comparing the current situation to the days when an emergency was promulgated, that Indira Gandhi's actions were coiled in broad daylight by formulating legislation, whereas today no public announcements are made, and business goes on as usual. This technique of doing business is nothing but enforcement of the emergency from behind closed doors.

Rao Is Pushing His Government Into Trouble

Dr. Vansh Bahadur Singh, the Principal of Udai Pratap College, said that it is difficult to visualize any logic in Mr. Rao's actions. The arrests of the leaders and the dismissal of the governments will simply strengthen those forces against whom these punishments are directed. Assuming that the action against the Uttar Pradesh government can be considered legitimate, there still exists no basis for the dismissal of the state governments of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Himachal. These state governments were, themselves, actively taking actions against the banned organizations, and had proved more successful than the IC (Indira Congress) governments in controlling the riots. It appears from Mr. Rao's decisions that he is constantly pushing himself and his government toward their doom.

A Hasty Step

The Chairman of the Uttar Pradesh Sikh Forum, Jogender Singh Bagga, said that this hastily taken step of dismissing the three BJP governments will encourage the communal forces and the country will thus, face a new challenge.

BJP Concentrating on Pawar, Arjun Singh

93AS0331E New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 18 Dec 92
p

[Article by Om Prakash: "BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] Aim at Pawar and Arjun Singh"]

[Text] New Delhi, December 17—After targeting Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata

Party] and the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] are planning to take care of Arjun Singh and Sharad Pawar. These two people are the real candidates for prime minister in the Congress Party.

The BJP's strategy is to surround both with doubts and stop them from becoming the center of attention during any polarization. The BJP got Home Minister Shankarrao Chavan as a wonderful helper to surround Defense Minister Pawar. After the 6 December incident, Pawar started a campaign for the resignation of the home minister. They are both old enemies in Maharashtra's politics. A few days ago, the home minister played a key role in demanding the resignation of 12 ministers of the Pawar group. For Pawar, the resignation of the home minister could be his revenge. They wanted to make the home minister and the prime minister responsible for the whole affair. His spokesman, Rajesh Pilot, is still campaigning for this demand.

The attacks on Pawar started at Nagpur, headquarters of the RSS. Balasahab Deoras, the RSS chief, remained silent. However, his secretary, Srikant Joshi, blamed the destruction of the Babri Masjid structure on the Central Government and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). He said that the Congress Party had the structure destroyed through the RAW. RAW personnel were disguised as kar sevaks.

Srikant Joshi also supplied more fuel for the RSS propaganda machine. In an interview with an English newspaper he said, "Defense Minister Sharad Pawar was successful in getting some of its people recruited as kar sevaks in July. We learned about it later; however, by then they had already infiltrated the kar sevaks."

The central office of the BJP jumped at this important sentence. According to a veteran BJP official, "The structure was destroyed by people from Maharashtra, and these people belonged to Sharad Pawar." He claimed that the Intelligence Bureau (IB) had also prepared a report claiming that the people who tore down the structure belonged to Maharashtrian mafia groups. According to the IB, there was some relationship between Pawar and these groups.

Pawar had already taken a beating because of his relations with the mafia in Maharashtra. He could easily be surrounded at this weak wicket. It is important to mention here that Pawar was attacked by the prime minister and the Maharashtra chief minister on the basis of these relations. This ground has been open for use by the BJP. Because of the internal strife in the Congress Party, this loophole could not be closed.

The BJP was already attacking Arjun Singh. It openly accused him of all the actions taken against it. The BJP not only started a campaign against him within the Congress Party, but also prevented his becoming vice president. It believes that if he had not pressured the party from within, then the prime minister would have let the kar seva begin in Ayodhya.

The BJP campaign against Arjun Singh comes from two sides. It alleges that the riots in Bhopal after the 6 December incident were started by his son, Rahul Singh. The second accusation is directly related to the 6 December incident. Sumitra Mahajan, the BJP legislator from Indore, says, "Puri's Shankaracharya Nischalanand started establishing contact with these people on 13 November. In those days, Swamiji was preaching in Indore. Arjun Singh told him that he would give 640 million rupees to build the temple, and that he would help build it after 6 December. Why did he talk about starting the kar seva after 6 December? Did he know that something would happen?" In this context, a report based on Swamiji's statement that was published in NAI DUNIYA was also distributed among the reporters. However, all Swamiji said was that a central minister had bribed him and that his people should not go to kar seva on 6 December. Who is right? Only Swamiji can answer.

The BJP's strategy is clear from this whole story. The prime minister cannot give new life to the Congress Party. The law banning the parties can be canceled in court. The already weakened government cannot oppose the BJP just by banning it. The Narasimha Rao government is rotting. Its policies and programs are destroyed just like the mosque structure. In this situation, Arjun Singh and Pawar are the only ones who can keep the Congress Party alive. The Muslims are also angry at Narasimha Rao, and not at the Congress Party. They can also pull in other, outside sources in this polarization. Arjun Singh's feet are spread both in the north and the south. If Pawar and Arjun Singh are united, then the BJP's efforts can be controlled.

The effects of the Ayodhya incident will disappear soon. The kar seva cannot be started again now. Any efforts in Mathura and Kashi could backfire. In this situation, its efforts are to spread the possible points of the polarization.

Vajpayee Strategy of Fasting Said Victorious

93AS0331B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 22 Dec 92
p 4

[Editorial: "Atalji's Victory"]

[Text] What does the government want to achieve by imposing restrictions on Atal Behari Vajpayee's public meeting? Permission to have a meeting at Talkotra Indoor Stadium was given to the party many days ago; however, when the posters announcing the meeting were published, the police suddenly revoked the permission. They said that other parties are given permission to hold meetings or rallies if their goal is to encourage factional goodwill, but that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] meeting is against it. This argument is just an excuse, because the rallies that received permission in the name of goodwill were not like a prayer meeting at the Raj Ghat. Some of these meetings were held especially to express anger against the BJP. The BJP itself was given

permission to hold a meeting at the Himachal Bhawan in Delhi. A curfew is imposed in Delhi, and no meeting, demonstration, or rally is permitted without permission. However, meetings are usually permitted in closed buildings or halls. Therefore, it is clear that the decision to stop the BJP meeting was made for political reasons. The way the police were deployed in Talkotra Stadium and other areas of the city shows that it was not a simple law-and-order situation.

If the government believed that it would be able to keep the BJP under control through such actions, then it failed in its goal. Instead, the leaders and BJP members came out and showed their anger. The strange thing is that most of the leaders of Congress and other non-BJP parties believe Atal Behari Vajpayee to be a liberal leader, and it is usually emphasized that Vajpayee leads the faction of the party opposed to extremism and fundamentalism. Some of Vajpayee's statements also received good publicity in this context. Still, the government tried to control this "liberal" leader with police batons, and forced him into open confrontation. If the BJP had been allowed to have a meeting on Sunday, then it would have been proved that this party is not disappointed and was slowly trying to stand on its feet. But the BJP showed a dramatic side; because the meeting was not allowed, the BJP leaders were beaten by the police, and all leaders, including Vajpayee, were arrested. It was not only disappointed, but its aggressiveness also increased. The police action increased the people's sympathy towards the BJP. This is evident from the fact that people living around Mandir Marg, where the confrontation took place, helped the demonstrators. We should not forget that most of the people living in these areas are government employees.

The situation that emerged after Atal Behari Vajpayee's hunger strike forced the home minister to accept his three demands. The BJP leaders demanded that BJP members not be arrested just for associating with the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh]. After the RSS was banned, all of its activities were canceled. They do not have any branch meetings, and all RSS offices have been locked and sealed. In such a situation, if formal relations are used as a criterion, then no BJP leader would remain out of jail. Some leaders of the so-called secular parties, historians, the police, armies, and many people associated with the government will also have to be restricted. The BJP asks that it be allowed to function normally as a political party and that no unnecessary restrictions be imposed on its meetings. These demands are legitimate as long as the BJP itself is not restricted. Even though many Congress Party leaders are talking about banning this party, the government and the other parties should understand that a party that is a recognized opposition party with its own governments in four states cannot be banned without solid legal grounds. If this is done, the situation of confrontation and enmity will not improve. Instead, this confrontation will become extreme. This will also give the Sangh family the opportunity to say that it represents all of Hindu society. In this atmosphere

of factional distrust, it will not be surprising if many Hindus consider this action a challenge. Therefore, if the government and the other parties try, the action of throwing the BJP out of the legal and democratic establishment would help neither them nor the nation.

Congress-I's Moopanar Group Withdraws Boycott Threat

93AS0358C Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
3 Dec 92 p 5

[Article: "Metro News - Moopanar Group Withdraws Boycott Threat"; boldface words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] **Express News Service** - Madras—The Moopanar faction in the Tamil Nadu Congress-I has withdrawn its threat to boycott the organisational polls.

The decision follows two rounds of discussions Pradesh returning officer Motilal Vora had with the representatives of Mr. Moopanar on Wednesday. He has also met Mr. Moopanar on Tuesday.

A three-member watch-dog committee would be appointed in every district—comprising one representative each of the rival factions and with the DCC [District Congress Committee] president as the convener—which would verify the membership lists and electoral rolls. All the complaints received thus far would be looked into by these committees, Mr. Vora said.

Expressing satisfaction at the happy resolution of the conflict, Mr. Vora said that "everything" would go on as per schedule.

The major grievance of the Moopanar faction was that the rival group had stolen a march over them through a devious means. As on Nov. 22, the last date for submission of membership books, they had a clear edge, with 55 percent or so of the membership enrolled.

While they had submitted the membership lists and paid the subscription money on the due date at the party headquarters, on a tip-off from the TNCC-I [Tamil Nadu Congress Committee-India] functionaries, DCC presidents owing allegiance to TNCC-I president Vazhapadi Ramamurthy, in 20 of the 28 district units, promptly remitted subscription money for a few thousand more members everywhere without submitting the membership books. And at their convenience, they started enrolling bogus members to outscore the Moopanar camp. Though this was brought to the attention of Mr. Vora, he did not react and hence the threat to boycott the polls.

Now by gaining entry into the watch-dog committees in 20 district units—controlled by the Vazhapadi camp—the Moopanar camp hopes to be able to weed out 'bogus members' and irregular enrolments. The other eight units are with it only.

Perhaps as yet another sop to the dissidents, Mr. Vora has declared that those MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] who had not paid up their annual subscription of Rs. 500 to the CLP [Congress Legislature Party] would not be entitled to participate in the organisational elections at any level. A letter to this effect was delivered to CLP leader S. R. Balasubramanian by Mr. Vora.

(This is being seen as a bid to humour Mr. Moopanar in that in the CLP, his followers are in a majority and it is the Vazhapadi faction which has been stalling on the subscription issue, thus refusing to acknowledge the leadership of Mr. S. R. Balasubramanian, a Moopanar supporter).

Earlier in the day when Mr. Vora made this point at a press conference, TNCC-I headquarters secretary V. Dhandayudhapani who was also present at the time, first questioned the validity of Mr. Vora's contention saying that the bar on contests in case of non-subscription related only to elections at the PCC [Pradesh Congress Committee] level and not lower down. When Mr. Vora asserted that he was only going by the AICC-I [All India Congress Committee-India] constitution, Mr. Dhandayudhapani said that anyway the CLP leadership had never supplied the Vazhapadi group a copy of the CLP constitution despite repeated requests nor sought the subscription from them.

However, when contacted, Mr. Balasubramanian denied the charge and said letters demanding subscription fees had been delivered to all the MLAs by treasurer A.S. Ponnammal, but in vain. He also denied that the rival camp ever asked for or was refused a copy of the CLP constitution.

In the morning press conference, Mr. Vora also took objection to the Moopanar camp's going to the press with their grievances.

It was in violation of the AICC directive to partymen not to go to the press on party affairs, he said.

Asked whether any disciplinary action would be taken against the guilty, he said, "I have apprised the PM [Prime Minister] himself of the latest developments. It is for the high command to act on the issue."

Congress-I Advised To Weed Out Communalists

93AS0317B Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 9 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "The Indecisive Administration of Narasimha Rao"]

[Text] The unlawful destruction of Babri Mosque in Ayodhya has resulted in creating an emotionally charged, tense atmosphere in the country. At a time like this, the government should act intelligently and take decisive steps. Ashok Singhal, Giriraj Kishore, Vinay Katiyar, Vishnu Hari Dalmia, and many others not only incited the people to demolish the mosque but actually initiated the action. Nobody could dispute that stern

action should be taken against them. Communal riots are spreading all over, and the country is in a deep crisis. The prime minister and home minister have taken belated action against the leaders responsible for the turmoil.

But it is surprising that Advani has been arrested. He had resigned his position as the leader of the opposition in parliament, taking the moral responsibility for his inability to prevent the demolition of the mosque. Whether he resigned with sincerity or not is a different matter altogether. He did not seem to have made any serious effort to stop the demolition of the mosque. Under the circumstances, the arrest of Advani has provided the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] the opportunity to retort politically. That party has issued an appeal throughout the country to observe a one-day strike on Wednesday. The way in which "kar seva" was conducted in Ayodhya and the way the BJP openly joined hands with Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and Bajrang Dal has brought down the BJP. The party was discredited, disgraced, isolated, disarmed and without any issue to fight. But now because of the arrest, it has something to fight for. The party has now decided to agitate, demanding the release of Advani and Joshi.

The atrocities committed on Sunday at Ayodhya were premeditated. The atrocities are just outward manifestations of communalism that has been growing in India for the past several years. Interim arrangements like the arrest of Advani cannot be the solution to the problem. The air was thick with rumors that the prime minister had made a bargain with the BJP in connection with the Ayodhya issue. Under these circumstances, it may be construed that these arrests were made just for political gains. The home ministry also has a moral responsibility for the demolition of the Babri Mosque. The prime minister should take action against the home minister who has not offered to accept the responsibility. He could regain his respect only if he does it.

The communal forces should be put down through political and organizational means. The VHP and RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] have been trying for the past many years to build a temple for Lord Rama on the grounds of the Babri Masjid. To counter this move, the Indira Congress party does not seem to have any plan. So the Indira Congress should realize that it, too, has a moral responsibility. As a first step, the party should weed out communalists from its rank.

CPI General Secretary Commends on Ayodhya

93AS0383A THE HINDU in English 11 Dec 92 p 6

[TEXT] New Delhi, Dec 10. The CPI [Communist Party of India] general secretary, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, said today that the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao was "totally inept" in handling the Ayodhya dispute and had "betrayed" the trust placed in him by the minorities and the National Integration Council which gave him a "blank cheque" (authorizing him to take any action he deemed fit to uphold the law and the Constitution).

Talking to reporters here, Mr. Gupta said it would take a long time to restore the minorities' confidence. The Ayodhya developments were a "blatant affront" to the Constitution and to the "crores of Hindus who wanted temple to be built without demolishing the mosque."

The whole operation that took place that Sunday appeared to have been carefully planned, he said. "As a citizen and an MP [member of Parliament]", he was "pained and hurt" over what had happened. It was surprising that Parliament had adjourned without saying a "word of condemnation". The Government might not want to name the people responsible for the demolition of the mosque but the incident should have been condemned.

Mr. Gupta said he hung his head in shame and the country would find itself in an extremely untenable position in the U.N.

Demolition planned, says CPI: A CPI parliamentary delegation, comprising Mr. Gurudas Dasgupta, Mr. Vijoy Kumar Yadav and Mr. Tej Narain Singh, in a report said the demolition was "actually a program of the (erstwhile) U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Government. It took place with the administration's "deliberate collusion," and that the "whole administration acted as the volunteer of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the..... [passage omitted]

Notification on Ayodhya Land Quashed

Details of Judgment

93AS0388A Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Dec 92
p 1

[Article: "U.P. (Uttar Pradesh) Land Acquisition in Ayodhya Quashed"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lucknow, Dec. 11. In a much-awaited judgment, the Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court today quashed the notification for the acquisition of 2.77 acres of land in the disputed site at Ayodhya issued by the erstwhile Kalyan Singh Government.

Allowing six petitions—five filed by Muslim individuals and the Jamaitul Ulemai Hindu and one by the Panch Ramanandi Nirmohi Akhara—with costs, the three-member Bench quashed the notification of October 7, 1991 and October 10, 1991.

The State Government had mentioned "development of tourism and providing amenities to the pilgrims at Ayodhya in Faizabad district" as the purpose of the acquisition of the land, where "shilanyas" was done in November 1989 and "kar seva" in July last.

Mr. Justice S. C. Mathur wrote the 150-page judgment and Mr. Justice Brijesh Kumar and Mr. Justice S.H.A. Raza concurred with it, but made some elaborations. Mr. Justice Mathur summed up his conclusions thus. "The purpose of acquisition mentioned in the impugned

notification is a public purpose. Construction of a temple is not beyond the connotation of the expression 'development of tourism and providing amenities' to pilgrims at Ayodhya in Faizabad district."

"But the present acquisition is vitiated, as under the garb of the notified purpose the intention from the very beginning was to give advantage to one group of litigants over the other and to one religious group over the other, attracting violation of Articles 14 and 15. In a private dispute, the State is required to observe neutrality; neutrality is implicit in Article 14. The impugned action lacks neutrality and is, therefore, constitutionally invalid."

The 2.77 acres of land is situated on plot No. 159, 160, 171 and 172. The composite notification under Section 4(1) and Section 17(4) of the Act was published in the U.P. Gazette, dated October 7, 1991, which was followed by a notification, dated October 10, 1991, under Section 6. An interim order was passed by the Special Bench on October 16, 1991. Between the filing of the first petition and passing of the interim orders, two more petitions were filed. The interim order had stipulated that the State Government can neither construct any permanent structure on the acquired land, nor alienate it, till the final judgment on the petitions. Incidentally, the High Court allowed the demolition of certain structures, save Sakshi Gopal temple, situated on the acquired land, which the State Government carried out. The topography was almost totally altered in July last, in contravention of the Court orders, the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] carried out the construction of a concrete platform through "kar seva" which the State Government could not stop.

The Akhara's Stand

Incidentally, most part of the acquired land had been gifted to the VHP. As far as the title to the land is concerned, the case of the Panch Ramanandi Nirmohi Akhara is different from that of the other petitioners. However, all the petitions were heard together and decided by a common judgment. In all the petitions, except that of the Akhara, the petitioners claimed to represent the interest of Muslims. The Akhara, claiming to represent the interest of a sect of Hindus, namely Ramanandi Bairagis (worshippers of Lord Rama), said it had its temples on the acquired land. While other Hindu title holders had earlier gifted their land to the Ramjanmabhumi Trust, floated by the VHP, the Akhara refused and sought judicial remedy.

The State's consistent case has been that the acquired land is not a subject matter of litigation. The Court did not agree with this. It noted "It will have to be held that the acquisition is vitiated by non-application of mind to relevant fact or at any rate by faulty application of mind. This finding alone is sufficient to quash the impugned notification, as it attracts infraction of Articles 14 and 15 of the Constitution." The Court, however, examined other points.

The Court also dealt with the submission of the State that its action cannot be said to be arbitrary, as construction of a temple in Ayodhya was part of the election manifesto of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. "No action of the State can be justified," the judges noted, on the basis of people's mandate if it does not pass the test of constitutional validity. The Constitution has also people's mandate, as it has been framed by the representatives of people. The Constitution mandate is basic, fundamental and supreme and all other mandates are subordinate to it."

Mr. Justice Raza, who concurred with the view of Mr. Justice Mathur along with Mr. Justice Brijesh Kumar, in a separate 97-page elaboration on several points, did not concur with the view of Mr. Justice Mathur that Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution do not take away the right of the State to acquire the place of worship and endowed property for public purposes. He also did not agree that in a secular country like India private land can be acquired for construction of a temple, as construction of a temple is a public purpose. "The State Government itself cannot invoke the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act by acquiring land for purposes of construction of a religious place of worship," he said.

Caveat Filed

Our Legal Correspondent reports from Delhi:

Mr. M.M. Kashyap, Advocate on-Record for Mohd. Aslam alias Bhure, today filed a caveat in the Supreme Court registry requesting that no order be made by the court on any petition or appeal that may be filed by any part against today's judgment delivered by a Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court in Lucknow in the Ayodhya land acquisition case.

The present petition against the validity of the acquisition of 2.77 acres of land in Ayodhya was clubbed along with other connected writ petitions in a matter before the High Court Bench in Lucknow.

This petitioner's contempt petition against the State of U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and its former Chief Minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, and certain others for violation of the Apex Court's and the High Court's interim orders in respect of the acquired land and the disputed structure is already pending along with a connected contempt petitions before an Apex Court Bench.

Effect of Judgment

93AS0388B Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Dec 92 p 9

[Article: "To Whom Does the 'Acquired Land' Belong?"; quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 11. In one blow the Allahabad High Court has reduced to nothing all so-called "efforts" which were made by the former Kalyan Singh Government in Uttar Pradesh to remove the legal hurdles in the way of construction of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya.

The verdict, delivered today in Lucknow by the Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court, quashing the October 7, 1991, land acquisition notifications of the State Government, has the effect of giving the land back to their former owners. Some portions of this land are caught in older law suits.

Though the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] had been claiming that even if the Court were to quash the acquisition "nearly 80 percent of the 2.77 acres sought to be acquired would come back to the Parishad as its rightful owners," it appears that this claim is hollow. Mr. S.B. Chavan, Union Home Minister, is on record as having said in the Rajya Sabha on March 25, 1992, that "2.45 acres of this land is Government property." In fact he had questioned the acquisition on the ground that most of the 2.77 acres was "nazul" land owned by the Government already.

In March 1992 the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Government had carried out "operation demolition" on the land sought to be acquired. It had admitted to the National Integration Council team, which visited Ayodhya under the leadership of Mr. S.R. Bommai, that Sumitra Bhawan, Gopal Bhawan, Sankat Mochan temple, parts of Sakshi Gopal temple, some shops and a cottage near Lomash Ashram had been demolished while levelling the land around the Babri complex.

Mr. Chavan had said that "the destruction of the temples pre-supposes that the dispute pending in the High Court will be decided in favour of the U.P. Government." And turning to the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] members he had asked, "If the court order goes against you (State Government and the BJP) will you restore these temples?" These statements made in Parliament also make it clear that there is no way the land could have fallen into the hands of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, even if the organisation had not been banned.

"BMAC stand vindicated": The All-India Babri Masjid Action Committee is pleased with the verdict of the Court as it feels its stand has been vindicated. The Uttar Pradesh Sunni Central Board of Wakf had contested the acquisition in the court. According to Mr. Zafaryab Jilani, in Lucknow, the Wakf Board has the title to nearly 1.5 acres of the total land which was to have been acquired, "and there is no other claimant." This, he said, included plot number 586 where "shilanyas" was performed by the VHP in November 1989.

According to Mr. Jilani the 1.5 acres extends on the eastern side of the demolished Babri Mosque from the "shilanyas" site up to where the wall of the mosque was and includes the "Ram Chabutra" in possession of the Nirmohi Akhara. On the northern side, it extends to plot number 582 and includes some graveyards.

Apart from this, most of the remaining 2.77 acres was "nazul" land belonging to the Government. Some shopkeepers and others who had built structures on this land over the years were in possession of parts of this land,

just as various organisations had also built structures on land claimed by the Wakf Board.

Survey report rejected: The problem, however, is that the 2.77 acres of land has not yet been properly surveyed. The report of a survey conducted seven to eight months ago has been rejected by the Allahabad High Court. It is this ambiguity on the ground which has resulted in different parties claiming different legal status for the same plot.

Apparently, after the BJP came to power in Uttar Pradesh in 1991, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad used money and muscle to get some of those in possession of various structures on this land to "transfer" these to it, sense without the title deeds, Mr. Jilani explained, for how could they sell land which did not belong to them? [sentence as published]

But senior leaders of the Sangh Parivar have repeatedly said that in the event of the Allahabad High Court quashing the acquisition proceedings, 80 per cent of the 2.77 acres would "revert to the VHP." Mr. Jaitely, national executive committee member of the BJP, Mr. Giriraj Kishore of the VHP, and many others have repeatedly said this. But none from the Sangh Parivar has come forward to give details of the plot numbers belonging to the VHP.

The quashing of the acquisition proceedings also means that the Central Government cannot give the land to any Hindu trust to build a temple. It will have to negotiate with the Wakf Board, or wait for the outcome of the suits in court. The land will also have to be surveyed properly and plots demarcated on the ground before any settlement, inside or out of court is possible.

Questions on Ayodhya Temple Attack Noted

93AS0387A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 9 Dec 92 p 11

[Article by Saibal Dasgupta: "Ex-Armymen Trained Kar Sevaks at Camp"]

[Text] Lucknow, Dec. 8. Even after the crackdown on BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders, the moot question that remains unanswered is whether the demolition was a planned operation, as indicated by the supreme court and the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] governor, Mr. B. Satyanarayan Reddy, or just a spontaneous reaction.

Stretched further, the question that needs an answer is whether or not the signal came from the Rashtriya Swayansevak Sangh (RSS) head quarters in Nagpur.

Senior police officials and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) circles indicate that a "plan of action" had been worked out for implementation after the high court verdict on December 11. The BJP MP [member of Parliament] of Faizabad, Mr. Vinay Katiyar, had also talked about plans to launch guerrilla-type warfare if the Centre unleashed a "rein of repression."

RSS sympathisers dismiss the suggestion after orders coming from Nagpur as "irresponsible talk." They point out that many of the leaders of the BJP and the VHP had brought along their families and that Mr. L.K. Advani looked like "a broken man" when the operation was on. But their detractors, like the state Congress secretary, Mr. Ramesh Dixit, say that the RSS was definitely directing the operations.

The critics also point out that leaders like Mr. Advani might have been kept in the dark so that they could sincerely go about espousing the cause of peace and reasonableness and give the trained cadres the benefit of a surprise attack.

The actual number of agent provocateurs may have been a handful, the critics said. The sadhus who do not have trained and disciplined cadre are regarded as incapable of mounting an operation of this size and magnitude.

At the time the structure was being smashed, the assistant general secretary of the RSS, Prof. Rajendra Singh, gave newsmen a one-liner, "history cannot be directed. It just takes place." These exact words were repeated by the former chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, when newsmen met him here on Sunday.

As early as November 30 there were reports from agra that former army and police officers had set up guerrilla training camps for a select group of kar sevaks. Kar sevaks were seen training themselves around a mound in the Ram Katha Kung in Ayodhya, trying to pull it down with ropes tied around it on December 5. Over a hundred kar sevaks carrying hammers were seen around the disputed site that day.

The first kar sevak, an youth from Andhra Pradesh, to clamer up the dome of the structure had come rushing to Mr. L.K. Advani who stood on the top of a roof in Ram Katha Kunj and tried to touch his feet. Mr. Advani turned away in disgust, according to eyewitnesses.

The BJP MP, Ms. Uma Bharati, and Sadhvi Ritambara did make repeated appeals over the public address system asking kar sevaks to leave the structure. But when they found that they could not douse the fires they had helped rekindle, the sanyasins took to fanning it.

The two sanyasins were seen excitedly embracing kar sevaks who came to them holding pieces of the broken structure for blessings. By then, the RSS sainiks who had initially tried to stop the kar sevaks, had given up. "We could have stopped them. But why should we make ourselves enemies of kar sevaks?" One of them told reporters.

The structure was broken with some amount of expertise. A variety of instruments like hammers, pick-axes and ropes were used. The path for the central forces was intelligently blocked. An errie sense of organisation loomed over the whole operation. No more than 2,000 kar sevaks were actually involved through most of the

operation while the rest sat placidly listening to speeches in the Ram Katha Kung nearby.

Could simple villagefolk from different parts of the country, even hamstrung with language problems, accomplish the task without clear directions and militia-type organisation?

Reactions like Rajmata Vijayaraje Scindia's statement in Lucknow on Sunday that the events were directed by the "invisible hand of god" have an ominous ring. Even while he condemned the breaking of the structure, the RSS chief, Mr. Balasaheb Deoras, has tried to raise the issue of the Krishna Janmabhoomi in Mathura and Kashi Vishwanath temple in Varanasi by mentioning in this explosive situation that Hindus feel hurt at the doings of Aurangzeb and Babar.

"We now feel proud to be Hindus," a VHP functionary said in Lucknow, Ms. Veena Pandey and Mr. Surendra Pratap Singh, both BJP functionaries, tried to justify the demolition saying that the kar sevaks had no other way of getting justice after the Prime Minister had referred to the structure as Babri Masjid.

Varnasi's Mosque-Temple Controversy Examined

93AS0399B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 28 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Baikunth Nath Upadhyay: "Kashi's Most Holy Site Gyanvapi, Where Knowledge Flows Incessantly"]

[Text] The holy Gyanvapi pilgrimage is a famous Varnasi holy site. Knowledge always flows here. The beginning of this holy place is detailed in chapters 33 and 34 of the Kashi Khand. This holy place was very large. In 1194, when Sri Vishwanath temple next to the Satyanarayan temple was destroyed by Shahabbudin Gauri, the rubble fell in the Gyanvapi and a major portion of Gyanvapi was covered with it. In 1669, Vishwanath temple in Gyanvapi was destroyed and people began to worship at Kup Vishweswar situated in Mukti Mandap. After the golden temple was built, they started worship here again.

In the east of Gyanvapi temple (now mosque) were Sri Gangeshwar, Sri Ganga Devi, Pashupati, and Dwarpal Bhairav temples; in the south were Sri Gauri Shankar, Tarkeshwar, Nandikeshwar, Mahakaleshwar, Mod, Pramod, Sumukh, Durmukh, Gannath, Sri Maheshwar, and Markandayshwar; in the west were ruins of the ancient temple of Bhagwati Gauri, Moksheshwar, Sri Ganesh, Western Gate of Bhairav, Vir Bhaddareshwar, and Apsreshwar temples. Religious people have been worshipping here for a long time. There were 14 pavilions in Gyanvapi and most of these were demolished. Only Mukti Mandap is still standing. The destroyed pavilions were called Shringar, Aishvaryya, Gyan, Vairagya, Bhagti, Kailash, Laxmivilas, Sabha, Rang, Kukut Mokash, and Vilas. The pilgrims from Panchkoshi and Vishweshwar started their route after going around the ancient temple (now mosque) of Vishwanath.

Pilgrims worshipped in Gyanvapi's courtyard during such sacred days as Kartik Purnima and Vaishakhi Purnima. Makar Sankranti, Mahashivratri, Rangmari, Nirjala Ekadshi, Prabodhini Ekadshi, and Baikunth Chaturdarshi and would be immersed in waves of knowledge. There used to be large gatherings of Marwaris in the month of Kartik and Ramayana conference of Sat-sangh society and Novena worship in the month of Vaishakh. Prominent religious scholars and holy men from all over India took part in these conferences. Hundreds of thousands of people took part in these. Durga worship and open kitchens were common occurrences. All the religious practices carried out with truth and faith at Gyanvapi had great and never-ending influence.

It is natural for the people to be aggravated at the government for surrounding the Gyanvapi area in the name of protecting the mosque. All religious ceremonies mentioned above have been discontinued because of it.

The Muslims had tried several times to demonstrate their ownership of Gyanvapi. It is imperative that some facts be brought to light here. Except for the mosque, the whole land around Gyanvapi is owned by the descendants of Vishwanath temple's chief priest Vyas. The Vyas family has the monopoly of receiving all the donations, pledges, and proceeds from ceremonies involving the start and finish of pilgrimages in all the temples here.

The Muslims have filed a case claiming that Emperor Aurangzeb had donated all this land to them. The Muslims had filed this case numbered 62 in a district court in 1936. Then Justice Shiv Baran Singh had dismissed the case on 25 August 1937. Mr. R.K. Varnede, then district commissioner, had said about this case that Gyanvapi property was never donated and the Muslims had no right over it. He even said that the Muslims had never owned Gyanvapi property between then and Aurangzeb's time. There were major riots over this mosque in 1809. The Hindus took control, but the British rulers returned it. In 1929, when Muslims carried out funeral ceremonies in the western court, Pundit Raghunandan Vyas, the chief priest, objected to it. Mr. Dyebell, the British Deputy Commissioner at that time, issued orders on 30 May 1935 banning Muslim prayers on the Gyanvapi property.

The Muslims somehow managed to get permission from the deputy commissioner to carry out minor Muslim ceremonies on the property and began to pray outside the mosque on Gyanvapi property. There was a strong opposition to it and was totally stopped by then deputy commissioner Sir Sinclair Dey in 1948.

The way the Central Government has taken control of Gyanvapi in the name of protecting the mosque is greatly disturbing the worshippers. If the government wants to guard the mosque, it should do so around the mosque area and not all over Gyanvapi property belonging to the Hindus. No one will object if the

mosque is filled by the police and the military. The government should spread intelligence personnel all over the place and control the situation from the police precincts in the area. However, the way all worship and ceremonies have been banned in the name of security and the way all paths are barred with staves is considered greatly inappropriate and inconvenient by the worshippers. We respectfully request the government and the local administration to stop considering Gyanvapi a terrorist threatened place and let the Hindus worship peacefully as in the past.

How did such a large crowd turn up at the mosque for the Jumma worship in spite of the curfew imposed under Article 144 on Friday 25 December? We cannot understand. This crowd gathered as a result of some conspiracy to disrupt the peace in the city and to spread propaganda to the whole nation and abroad that we do not allow Muslim worship in Gyanvapi. When the mosque could not accommodate all the people, the worshippers spread onto the Gyanvapi grounds to worship. The Hindus objected. The administration showed discretion, seeing the seriousness of the situation, and ordered that they worship inside the mosque or on its roof.

There is the question: Did such a large crowd gather one by one? The people must have come in large groups from various communities. These people, those worshipping at Gyanvapi and the leaders who had arranged this, should have been arrested for violating Article 144. If their self-confidence continues to increase like this, it will not take much time for a major catastrophe to take place. Why should not these activities be considered a challenge to the government? The government should be careful about such activities, because it will not take them much time to make a mountain out of a mole hill.

Plight of Hindu Kashmiri Refugees Reported

93AS0398A New Delhi JANSATTA (Supplement)
in Hindi 03 Jan 93 p 1, 3

[Article by Padma Sachadev: "Refugees in Their Own Land"]

[Text]The city that you call Jammu. The city that still is my body and life. My memories roam about in the streets. Every nook and corner recognizes me.

Is anybody there?

There is nobody who can save my City of Jammu.

The signs of the conditions to which my city has been subjected are amply visible like the fallen leaves of autumn on the streets of the capital. You will see frightened, exhausted, sad Kashmiris running wayward all over, whipped by their own country, like the Pahalgam lake, in search of the unknown.

Have you seen the "Lidder"? It appears that the descending chilling waters of the Himalayas, mingled

with the waters of the "Lidder," today carry a stream of boiling blood. This blood, which is competing in its flow with the waters of the "Lidder," belongs to the Kashmiris.

The scared and frightened people of Kashmir have sent their children out of the valley to study. The present has always protected the future. But these small children are ignorant of the reason their parents have sent them out of town to study. They had learned to live with the thunders of fire.

These children, used to sumptuous feasts on the day of Id, now in Delhi scratch their mosquito-bitten, light colored bodies and innocently ask, "Why were we brought here?"

Nobody has an answer. Who would ever know how desperate the mothers are who wait with polite entreaties, with prayers, and with pearl-like Kashmiri rice in their hands to feed their children.

The Kashmiri Pundits heading toward the Khir Bhawani temple take cautious steps and strain to remember the forgotten. What color will the water of Khir Bhawani be today? Certainly it will be black. When the nomads came, the water turned black.

I remember the Khir Bhawani's temple built in the pond since the day my father holding me in his hands asked me to offer my prayers with folded hands and said, "Inside the temple resides the Devi." I remember the Shankaracharya since the day my mother holding me in her hands climbed the steps and stood in front of the magnificent image of Lord Shiva. Who would be bathing the deity? I don't know. Is there anyone who can take me there?

It has now been about three years since the Kashmiris left their homes because of fear of terror, horror, depression, anger, and uncertainty. The time for them to return home has not arrived yet. These distressed Pundits living in tents in Jammu are refugees in their own land. Their possessions amount to a few miserable utensils, a tent, enough rice for two meals, some coffee, a little money, and some help and assurances. Where are their ancestral homes filled with wealth and orchards? Several such camps are located in Jammu. The Pundit families are living in these camps just like passengers waiting on the platform for the arrival of the trains. Their eyes are always searching for something. The helpers think that they have performed a miracle. The Pundits think of the verse that means, "After giving away both the worlds, He thought in silence, such are the ways of shyness."

Such was the fate for Jammu. In 1947, with the partition of the country, Jammu provided home to many homeless. Of these, some belonged to the state itself and had relatives here. With the dreams of returning home they settled here. When one is without a country, everything is lost.

In addition, thousands came from newly created Pakistan. My city was just like a huge shade tree for the people. Some passed through, but most settled here. During the war with Pakistan thousands came again and are still here. They have neither the right to vote nor state citizenship.

Are they the children of India? If they are not, then why do they not have citizenship? Why are they lost in suspense and uncertainty? They do not have the right to vote. Is there anyone who can give them this right? They receive assurances. They have been living on these assurances for the last 40-45 years.

It is true that my city has transformed into a garbage can. People say that during the days of Jaggmohan it was very clean. This unique city built on a mountain is now a place to pass through. The world famous Dongra warriors have no solution today.

When we visited the India Gate to seek inclusion for the Dongri language in the eighth schedule, we saw the names of the Dongra warriors engraved on the India Gate. Major General Goverdhan Singh Juyal while reading these names said that, "Our association with the forces is very old. We also contributed in the second World War. Ever since the foot soldiers were established, the first award for gallantry was awarded to Brigadier Rajendra Singh. The first award of the war in free India was awarded to Somnath Sharma. We have also won the Param Vir Chakra. In the military we have over one hundred thousand soldiers."

Today we are lost at words. The Sahitya Academy recognized the Dongri language in 1969. Recently, Nepali, Manipuri, and Konkani have been added to the eighth schedule.

The claim of Dongri was overlooked once again. Dongri measures perfectly on all the elements essential for the recognition of a language. We have an immense treasure of folk literature. Our authors are top class and their writings can compete with the literature produced anywhere in India. Why is it then that Dongri is being bypassed. Our contributions are not limited to the field of literature, we have also enriched the other arts. If the India Gate illustrates the names of the famous Dongra warriors, the field of the arts is also glittering with the names of our famous writers. In music, Ustad Alla Rakha, Ustad Zakir Khan Hussain, Pundit Shiv Kumar Sharma, Malika Pukhraj, and the late Pundit Umadutt Sharma, all are Dongras.

Prime minister, please give us a place in the eighth schedule. Please give us a tongue. The vastness of literature is always enriched by adding new languages to it. It will have variety. We demand recognition for the Dongri.

Just take a look there, two persons from the office of Shere Duggar Bhim Singh of Kupwara district in Kashmir have come. They do not know what to say first. One of them opens his mouth to say, "Sir?"

I hate this word. I have heard this word used by learned people addressing idiots. "Sir" and "slave," these two words are beyond me to bear.

Years ago I heard these words spoken by the grandmother of the famous film actress Vaijantimala when she visited Srinagar. Her grandmother who had seen slaves in the Mysore court, had ordered in a very authoritative tone, "You slave come here."

By the time I recovered from this strike, the slave had already responded, "Sir/Madam." Since that time I have been disturbed at the very pronunciation of this word. We are not slaves to anyone, and we are a free people now.

The man from Kupwara had again spoken and said, "Sir."

He was saying that, "Sir, when it was adverse time we sheltered the army in our homes. A small camp was erected in our front yard. My father was head of the town council. He made 135 terrorists surrender with their arms."

He took out some folded papers, extended them toward me and said, "Look here, these are military documents."

Those papers bore the signature of the governor.

He was saying, "Sir, we are contractors. My father had withdrawn 29 thousand Rupees from the bank. I had 28 thousand. Along with all that money they also took away my father. My father was kidnapped right in the middle of the market place.

"Nobody said a word to the terrorists. The April 2 edition of the newspaper ALSAFA reported that Hezbollah Mujaheddin had accepted responsibility for the kidnapping. They had killed my father. They said that, 'He maneuvered 135 terrorists to surrender, and he used to supply girls to the army.' Even after this I continued to assist the Indian government. I compelled some terrorists to surrender. The army let go five or six of them and retained eight under custody."

Notice, our region is clean, but the army is spreading terrorism. The army by bribing the youth sends them to Pakistan to lure the terrorists. But these youth themselves turn into terrorists. They are not then good for anything. They have to become terrorists.

He was saying, "When my father was murdered no action was taken. The army sent my brother-in-law to Pakistan to lure a few terrorists. He brought back 22 people and had them captured. The army not only killed all those 22 terrorists, they also killed my brother-in-law. After that the army did not even protect those who had surrendered.

"The terrorists said to my brother-in-law, 'You are helping the government. We have killed and the army

has not done anything. My brother Teer Khan was murdered a month ago. He had also surrendered his son-in-law's rifle."

I was watching this modest man telling the number of people who were murdered and had died, so innocently and easily. Oh God, first human life became so inexpensive and now it has become worthless. I asked him, "Where did this rifle come from?"

Unpretentiously he responded that his brother's son-in-law had brought it from Pakistan. "But see how many of our people have lost their lives. The terrorists are after me. If I had the weapons I could handle them." Then rubbing his hands he said, "Pakistan has destroyed Kashmir. My father supported India, but we are not heard anywhere. We were told that anyone who will cause the terrorists to surrender will be rewarded. Our reward is that all the male members of the family have been killed by the terrorists. No one listens to us and we are the ones tortured."

He raised his shirt sleeves. He was also kept hanging from the ceiling and his arms had become very thin. He said that the army had kept him hanging. We had asked for a permit for a 12 bore rifle. We did not get one. "Our entire family was murdered. My intense desire is to obtain a rifle so that I can avenge my father's murder. I am on the terrorists's hit list and I am hiding all over."

The man accompanying this person seemed to be educated. He said that, "In my opinion all this would not have happened if Kashmir had no unemployment. We voted for someone, and someone else was declared elected as MLA [member of Legislative Assembly]. This gave birth to terrorism. It is not only true of Kashmir, but in all of India nobody has employment to offer. The young men are lost in disgust. Now, in the charm of money they have turned into terrorists. Pakistan provides them with the funds. The informer informs the police, endangering his life. But the army captures the innocent. They torture them and inquire the whereabouts of the terrorists. If they tell the police, terrorists then make a clean sweep of their family. When the army tortures the innocent, they turn into terrorists. In fact the army takes the bribe and lets the real culprits go loose. They captured the district commander of the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front], and after getting a hefty bribe, let him go. The captured innocent were sent to jail."

The other person was stopping him, "Now keep quiet, see it is all due to our army's mistakes."

"But this is not so. He does not know anything. If we had no army here, the terrorists would abduct our girls. The army safeguards our families. We can breath under their shadow. I feel that, if the government or the army so desires, the terrorism can become nonexistent. The farmer knows his fields. He knows where he has sown the seeds. If he does not let the thieves enter in there, how will they come in?"

The first man obstructed him by saying, "Stop here, I just remembered one incident. I went to Udhampur to file a case. The officials at the police station told me that this is not your place of residence. Now, look here, if I have helped India while I was in Kashmir, the Jammu police lock me up. When I showed them these documents, they said that for your help the government must have paid you money. Take it out and give it to us."

He then said cautiously, "I am the head of the city council in my city. I did not find any place to live in Kashmir, Jammu, or in Udhampur. Where should I go now? Should I go to Pakistan? Even the governor confirmed about the terrorists I made surrender. But the police did not believe me. In short my contention is that if the border was not so wide open there would be no terrorism, and also we would not be refugees."

"It is said that India has justice, it listens to the voice of common people, but where is that? The growth in terrorism is due to India's unjust and strict policies. How can I return to my home now? How much have I sacrificed? The persons whose sons I compelled to surrender are behind bars. How can I face them? The surviving children of those who were killed by terrorists are starving, and I am on their hit list. I had in reality come here to obtain a gun."

For those whom Delhi was a distant place at one time, now frequently come from Srinagar. One young man who lived, studied, and worked outside Srinagar had returned to Srinagar for employment, a little before the condition deteriorated. He came to see me. He is a modern man and considers himself secular.

He said, "I was in Delhi until August 31, when I went to Srinagar. I thought of staying home and finding employment there. I wanted to stay close to my parents. I was not familiar with the situation. But this was not the Kashmir I had left. Unheard of and unseen things were happening every day. First, for two months the government buses were planted with bombs, then it became the routine. Those who were killed were said to have mismanaged the 1983 elections. At this time the police favored the administrators. This simple mistake pushed Kashmir from one end of prosperity to the other of destruction. The local police lost their self-esteem due to these incidences. The silence of Chief Minister Farukh Abdulla, his useless visits, and his involvement with golf and gardening left home affairs on the brink of complete neglect. Terrorism was spreading. The common man, the uneducated and the simple ones, thought that terrorism, in all likelihood, is their route to deliverance. Maybe they thought this would guide them to the way to life. The people then started to show up in support of the terrorists. Slogans were heard, "What do we want, Freedom, Freedom."

The common man at that time did not know from whom he was seeking freedom. The terrorists were surprised. Their expectations were raised. They spread the rumor, that God willing, on the third Id we all will be free. The

extent of their impact was such that the people started wearing watches on their right hands and matched their time with the Pakistani time by reducing one half-hour from their watches.

Before the start of these processions, the Center dismissed the Farukh Abdulla government and appointed Jagmohan as the governor.

All the people of the valley assembled for these processions. This process continued for some ten to fifteen days. The army then started aimless firing. In the firing near Bapu Pass some thirty or forty people died. The official announcement said that these people were killed in police clashes. After this, the clashes between the army and the terrorists came to a halt. Some government buildings were bombed, and the police started killing selected members of the National Conference.

Our home is a little away from the city. One evening when I was taking a nap, I heard some slogan shouting coming from a distance. It appeared that in the dark of the night these forceful slogans are emerging from the sky. When I called to find out, I was told that the army had entered the Batmalu area and every male member of the community was racing toward the mosque. The slogans were continuous "What do we want—Freedom. What do we need—Nizam Mustafa."

This slogan shouting caused a permanent fear in the hearts of the Kashmiri Pundits. This fear was not such that it could not be sustained. Since the winter the terrorists were misguiding the innocent people. The buses were openly crossing the borders. On the shout of "Cross the border" the 15- and 16-year-old innocents, who did not know anything, were crossing the border. Crossing the border means Pakistan. Someone had his uncle there, someone his maternal uncle, and some had their sisters married there. So they were going there, unaware of their fate.

Where was the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation], the secret services, and the RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] at that time? Was this a scheme to ruin the Kashmiris? Were the politicians unaware of the results? Anyway this continued. And one morning Jagmohan ordered, "Kashmiri Pundits leave your homes."

Within a week all the Pundit houses were vacated. Those who used to dine with us, shared their lives with us, loved Kashmir the way we loved it, left their mother country. According to our estimate, these Pundits were about one hundred thousand. Where did all these Pundits come from? One of their representatives is collecting from Jammu, Udhampur, and Delhi and is also employed privately. They have also appealed to various foreign embassies for asylum. They say no one, either India or Pakistan, does anything for us. Where shall we go? One Pundit is earning in the thousands. If a Pundit dies, the rest of the community hears about it. So many Muslim youths die, no one ever knows about them.

I had known about the anger of the Kashmiri Muslims for the Pundits, but what I did not realize was that this hatred was so deep-rooted. Why cannot these Muslims also die? Do they want to have Kashmir only to live? One has to die for the land he lives on.

That young man was saying, "Padma aunty, I am an educated young man. I take myself to be a citizen of India. It becomes agonizing for me when someone becomes suspicious of my intentions."

I asked him, "Since you are the future of the country, what do you propose under these conditions?"

He responded, "All the political parties should work in unity leaving aside their differences. We should not pay any attention to Farukh Abdulla Gilani and Ghani Lone. Let the old Turks fade away and pay no heed to what they say."

Dr. Farukh Abdulla was in power during the days when terrorism emerged. Terrorists could not capture the Doctor. Today he is in Bombay, tomorrow in Bangalore, next day in Kashmir, and a day later in London. I thought of talking to Professor Saifudin Soez of the National Conference. I asked the Professor, "Where was the government when all this started?"

Mr. Soez replied, "The JKLF was born in 1989. It was during the elections for the ninth Lok Sabha that four or five people were murdered. There were about 300 terrorists during the days of Dr. Farukh Abdulla. We had captured 150. The other 150 would have also been arrested, but on the night of 19-20 January, havoc broke out in Srinagar. Twenty thousand people crossed the border; that is they went into Pakistan. This happened during the days of Jagmohan. The Pundits whose country was Kashmir left their land that night."

The memory of that day when Pundits departed is fresh in everybody's mind. If only someone had been there to stop them that dreadful night, when the Pundits were compelled to leave their land with fear of terror in their hearts. Think about it, it was their homeland that they left behind that night, when nobody ever gives up even his house so easily.

Now what can be done? Mr. Soez replied with seriousness, "Padma, the Pundits should return. They were expelled from Kashmir by Jagmohan. I agree, they were frightened. Now they are under BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] cover. The terrorists killed about 92

Muslims. A few Pundits were also killed but then all of them (Pundits) left their homes.

I said, "What is done cannot be undone. But what can we do to save this haven of India now?"

In the voice of Mr. Soez we smelled leadership when he replied, "The prime minister should pay attention to Kashmir. He should extend his hand to console them.

The state should stay united, regional autonomy should be preserved. You see, Padma, Balrajpur's thoughts are correct."

I met one more Dongra personality. He is Judge Anil Dev Singh of the High Court. He narrated his recollection of Jammu.

"In our time Jammu was a neat, clean, and beautiful city. That Jammu of my dreams has become a dustbin. Where is that City of Jammu that we adored so much? I wish my Jammu to be where my civilization is held as my legacy. Today Jammu's streets are so filthy that it is impossible to walk on them. How has this spotless city become so dirty?"

While returning from Anil Dev Singh's residence, I saw a modest couple in the Khan market inquiring about an address, holding a visiting card in their hands. This was a Kashmiri couple who looked like an embodiment of simplicity. After initial formalities, I asked whose house they were looking for. They glanced at me with some suspicion. I recited the names of several people of their neighborhood quickly and in Kashmiri. And I took them where they wanted to go. They had their car, with a Jammu-Kashmir number plate, waiting down below. That Kashmiri lady had come to see off her son who was on his way to Tashkend for medical studies. She profusely thanked me and hugged me several times. I told her that I was one of them. It pains me to see a mother, sending away a child out of the state for higher studies because of the scare of the terror in the state.

The people of Jammu call Professor Bhim Singh "Shere Duggar." I asked him if the time has come to save Jammu. Bhim Singh is very sad. He had arranged the logistics of the demand that we had carried to the India Gate to obtain recognition for the Dongri language. He said, "The administration in Delhi is responsible for the terrorism. The humble beginnings of the atrocities, thefts, injustice, dishonesty, and cruelty resulted in a problem of monstrous proportions. Jammu is also witnessing the same phenomenon. If it continues, all of India will be devastated. We do not have a Bapu to extinguish this fire. These young men who hold guns in their hands were with me during the elections. During the 1987 state elections they supported me. At that time the Congress and National Front had established a joint front. What will be the result, if the thieves and robbers join hands together? The Muslim United Front candidates who were contesting the elections, in accordance with the constitutional provisions, are today totally opposed to it. Please take note that, in the 1987 elections 24 candidates were winning. The government announced the results of four seats only. Twenty were declared defeated while the votes were still being counted. When the results were declared they said that these (candidates) were Pakistanis.

"In 1987 four Panther party candidates were on the verge of winning. The government declared all four losers. With mutual agreement, the Congress in Jammu

and the National Conference in Srinagar were declared winners. In 1988 I won the by-elections for parliament with 32 thousand votes. But they declared the Congress candidate Ayub Khan the winner. After four and one-half years of litigation, now, Justice Krishna Kumar Gupta of the Jammu High Court, declared the election results invalid and judged me the winner. What can be more illustrative of injustice and piracy?"

Jammu and Kashmir have three subregions—Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh. The existence, language, and culture of all three are different, but the bureaucracy in Delhi has totally disregarded Jammu and Ladakh. The people of these places have been subjected to severe injustice. In 1947 with the partition of the country two hundred thousand refugees from the state descended on Jammu. They are still living here as refugees. They do not have houses, land, or the right to vote. They also do not have a country. Nobody ever cried for them. Did anybody have doubts about their patriotism? It was decided to pay 12 thousand rupees to the people from occupied Kashmir when they came to Jammu. Nothing has been paid yet. Somehow they are managing on their own resources. But when the Kashmiri Pundits came to Jammu, the entire country was troubled. They were given land and houses.

The area of Jammu is 28 thousand kilometers and Kashmir occupies 14 thousand. Jammu has a population of 2.9 million people, Kashmir has 3.1 million. The recent distribution of seats shows 37 going to Jammu and 47 to Kashmir. What is this? Ninety-five percent of the Jammu population speaks Dongri. In Kashmir only 45

speaks Kashmiri. A different dialect of Dongri (Dongri Pahari) is spoken in the areas of Udi and Kupwara. In Baramulla and one half of Anantnag the spoken language is Gojri. Kashmiri was included in the eighth schedule in 1947, whereas they are still beating around the bush about Dongri.

Now, murders have started in Jammu. Even the pilgrims heading to the Vaishnav Devi Temple are not spared. Nobody is safe in Jammu. In Srinagar a lot of people were with the terrorists, whereas in Jammu there were none. This is the difference.

Bhim Singh said, "Two years ago I had suggested that all the retired military men be organized into an army so that people can protect themselves during any attack. The people and the prime minister all agree, but we do not have weapons for such an organization. Those Rajputs who were established in Kashmir by the maharajahs are now scattered all over. If they have the weapons they can defend themselves. There are so many Muslim families who want to protect themselves in this manner. The condition of those 150 thousand Kashmiri Muslims who have migrated from Kashmir is worse than the condition of Pundits."

It is futile to expect anything from the Delhi government. The people of the state will have to decide for

themselves. The type of army organized by General Zorawar Singh several years ago is needed today. Delhi cannot resolve the issues of our state.

In Jammu, children are losing their self-esteem. I asked a friend of my mother who was preparing for the entrance examination to the medical school, "Didi, how are your studies coming up?" Sadly she replied, "It is really no use in preparing for the examination because I am sure I will not get a seat. First the seats will be allocated to the refugees and then it will be our turn."

In her sadness, I saw not only her sadness, but a reflection of the sadness felt nationwide.

The world is never dislodged, it always rises. If it is dislodged at one place it becomes lodged at another. The government should provide protection to Pundits and should send them back to Srinagar. They themselves want to return. Who does not want to go back to his own home? If the government cannot send them back to Srinagar, it is then the responsibility of the government to establish them in all cities of the country.

Bhim Singh says, "In brief, the basic resolution of the problem lies in the implementation of the clauses of the instrument of accession to India that was signed by Maharajah Hari Singh. He had entrusted state security, communications, finances, and foreign affairs to the Government of India. He did not give them kingship. Appoint Dr. Karan Singh the sole caretaker of the state. Everyone will be happy with his return."

Karan Singh feels sad, if you talk to him about his motherland. "Padmaji, you know, I am a straightforward man. What else can I say. A verse from Bahadur Shah Zafar is appropriate here: "It was never so difficult for me to talk, My audience was never such as it is now."

Islamic Sevak Sangh Said Den of Terrorists

Special Police Force Assembled For Madani's Arrest

93AS0330A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 16 Dec 92 p 1

[Text]Trivanpuram, 15 December (P). Mr. Subramanyam, Kerala's Director General of Police, revealed today that a special police force has been organized to arrest Abdul Nasir Madani, the leader of the now banned Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS).

It is noteworthy, that Mr. Madani went underground soon after the organization of this force, following the Central Government's ban of the ISS, along with four other communal organizations, on 10 December, last.

Mr. Subramanyam informed the Press Trust that Mr. Madani was receiving millions of rupees from abroad, which assisted him in organizing an armed revolutionary group. Mr. Madani accumulated a major portion of this amount in violation of the FERA [Foreign Exchange

Regulations Act] and then transferred it into the accounts of his relatives. All of his bank accounts have also been frozen.

The Director General of Police said that Mr. Madani has retained a Tamil Nadu based company to build an Arabic college and a huge commercial center in Menagpally at the site of the ISS headquarters in Quilon district, at a cost of 30 million rupees.

It is also said that the recent cache of explosives in Nagarkayal, Tamil Nadu, belonged to the ISS. Madani's intentions can be measured by the fact that the organizational basis of his Islamic Sangh is exactly on the pattern of terrorism. According to police sources, even the police had to pass through metal detectors at the ISS headquarters building. Such measures were still in force when the police raided the ISS headquarters after it was declared a banned organization.

The police sources said that all the top ISS leaders have gone underground with Madani. Most of the records including receipts and letters have been burned. Examination of certain papers indicates that people have liberally donated to Madani, believing that he possessed magical powers.

Jayalalitha Required To Testify in Karunanidhi Case

93AS0358D Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
3 Dec 92 p 5

[Article: "Defamation Case: Karunanidhi Wants CM (Chief Minister) Called as Witness"; boldface words as published]

[Excerpt] Express News Service - Madras—DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] chief M. Karunanidhi has moved the Sessions Court with a plea to issue summons to Chief Minister Jayalalitha to appear before the court as a witness in the defamation case filed against him.

In his affidavit, filed on Wednesday before Principal Sessions Judge K. Ponnuswamy, Mr. Karunanidhi said Ms. Jayalalitha, who was aggrieved, defamed and who suffered mental agony on account of the alleged imputations, had not been made either a party to the case or her name cited as a witness in the complaint filed by the City Public Prosecutor on her behalf. Her name should be cited as a witness so that she could be cross-examined.

According to Sec. 237(1) Cr.PC, the person against whom the offence was alleged to have been committed should be examined as a witness. The Law Commission also, in its 41st report, clearly stated that the person defamed should be examined as a witness to maintain public confidence and show to the court that prosecution had been initiated at the instance of the person aggrieved or with his/her consent. Her name had been purposely omitted with the mala fide intention of prejudicing his case and to prevent him from cross-examining her. The

complaint was defective since it did not comply with Sec. 204(C) Cr.PC, he contended and prayed for a direction to issue summons to her. [passage omitted]

New ADMK Party Recognized by Election Commission

93AS0358A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
3 Dec 92 p 3

[Article: "Metro News - MGR ADMK (Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) Recognised by Election Commission"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Express News Service - Madras—Former AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] Minister S. Thirunavukkarasu's outfit Anna Puratchithalaivar Munnetra Kazhagam will now be known as MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MGR ADMK). Chief Election Commissioner T. N. Seshan has accepted the plea and reversed an earlier ruling by deputy election commissioner N. A. Viswanathan.

This is considered of some political significance as Mr. Thirunavukkarasu, a loyalist-turned-foe of Chief Minister Jayalalitha, is part of Dr. Subramaniam Swamy's Movement for Clean Administration. Mr. Seshan owes his appointment to Dr. Swamy.

The deputy commissioner had turned down Mr. Thirunavukkarasu's plea in June, following a representation from the AIADMK. Interestingly, the AIADMK did not bother to put forward its case before Mr. Seshan.

When he was expelled from the AIADMK two years ago, Mr. Thirunavukkarasu floated a party, calling it MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. But the AIADMK protested as the name resembled its own. Mr. Thirunavukkarasu changed his party's name to Anna

Puratchi Thalaivar Thamizhaga Munnetra Kazhagam and got provisional registration from the Election Commission on the eve of the last general elections.

Then, in July last year, the name was again changed to MGR ADMK which again drew protests from the AIADMK. The deputy election commissioner ruled that the new name was not distinct from that of the AIADMK and would confuse the voters.

Mr. Thirunavukkarasu appealed to Mr. Seshan who held that AIADMK and MGR ADMK are quite distinguishable and that "common electors" would not be confused if Mr. Thirunavukkarasu's plea was conceded.

Further, he agreed with Mr. Thirunavukkarasu that MGR's name was not the exclusive right or property of any particular party or organisation and that those who believed in his political philosophy and ideology could not be prevented from propagating those by using his name.

Releasing a copy of Mr. Seshan's ruling to the press here on Wednesday, Mr. Thirunavukkarasu said Ms. Jayalalitha was seeking to blot out the name of MGR from public memory and was victimising his loyalists. He also called upon all those who wanted to uphold MGR's legacy to join his party.

He said he would be writing to the Speaker of the Assembly to recognise him as a representative of the MGR ADMK.

He also lambasted the Chief Minister for her stand on kar seva and charged that she was in effect inciting communal trouble. It also went against the grain of Draividian politics, he added.

He wondered how men like Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, with a long innings in the Draividian movement, could continue to be in the Cabinet in the circumstances and even justify Ms. Jayalalitha's untenable stand.

Uncontrolled Multinationals' Entry, Danger Discussed

93AS0358F Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
3 Dec 92 p 8

[Article: "Multis Take on GOI (Government of India)"]

[Text] The multinationals are pressuring the Government for the freedom to establish branches without any condition with respect to the kind of business they can do in this country. Under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), trading companies are not allowed into this country, unless they are engaged exclusively in export. Manufacturing companies have to seek the foreign direct investment route. Foreign majority equity participation has been permitted to facilitate this. But the Samuelsonian Finance Minister has promised to dismantle FERA; this, after all, is what his promises to make the rupee convertible add up to. The multis have been quick to take the hint and press home their demand.

With this freedom, the branch of a transnational can go into lipstick manufacture for the domestic upmarket, or any other consumer item which requires little investment (in foreign exchange), and can make do with working capital raised within this country. Since there is to be no export condition on any investment in any activity, there will be no question of export viability. Indeed, there will be no question of viability in terms of rupee profits either; a branch can continue to be a loss-making one so long as it remits "home charges." Besides patent fees, these cover payment for technical, managerial and research inputs, valued arbitrarily, to the parent company. Branches are soon to have the freedom to import—thanks to the IMF, which insists that the country must let in consumer goods, and the Finance Minister who has dutifully promised to bring down import duties. No wonder, the shrewd Japanese, who at one time did not want branch status and sought majority equity participation, have done an about-turn. Besides, branches are accountable to the parents abroad, subject to laws prevailing in those countries and not of the host country.

The multis cannot be faulted for responding in the way they are to a Government that has promised to kill the fatted calf for the East India Company on its return! They are only taking the Government at its word. This means, first, giving them all the freedom they demand, irrespective of the adverse impact this may have on the country's external account. Second, the entry of foreign investment is getting linked to the freedom to import at successively lower import tariffs. Far from enlarging foreign exchange inflow, alien investment is pushing India into foreign exchange profligacy, financed with IMF borrowings. This will rapidly burgeon India's external indebtedness which requires an annual interest payment in foreign exchange, at last count, of \$3 billion or Rs [Rupees] 9,000 crore. Foreign investment is slated to exacerbate the external debt crisis. For indebted India,

foreign investment is unviable; unless it is accompanied by substantial debt cancellation. It is time to ask the Government what it is letting the country into.

Commentary Views 'Industrialization' of Tamil Nadu

93AS0317A Madras *DINAMANI* in Tamil 7 Dec 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Tamil Nadu Should Become Industrialized"]

[Text] Chief Minister Jaya Lalitha has given her approval to start new industries in the state with a capital investment of Rs. [Rupees] 85 billion. She held two days of talks with a number of industrialists and entrepreneurs and gave the clearance on the spot. This indicates her interest in industrializing Tamil Nadu. Reportedly, these new industries will provide job opportunities directly to 8,000 persons and indirectly to 12,000 persons.

Electricity production must increase in Tamil Nadu in order to achieve industrial progress. Permission has been granted to the private sector for schemes for electricity production with a capital investment of Rs. 54 billion. Ninety-six industrialists have combined to build electricity producing plants at Cuddalore with a capital investment of Rs. 34 billion and at Shrimushnam near Virdachalam with capital of Rs. 8 billion. These plants will help in industrializing the region. Approval for industries to produce medicines, leather goods, chemical and petroleum products, and fertilizers will attract entrepreneurs from other states and allow local entrepreneurs to start industries in Tamil Nadu rather than in other states.

There is now an atmosphere conducive to industrialization with adequate facilities. Efficient, hardworking laborers are available at low wages. Because of the lack of job opportunities here, laborers have been going to Middle Eastern countries to seek employment at meager wages. Now that new industries are to start in the state itself these laborers' capacity will contribute to the growth of industries in our country. Water, raw materials, and some amount of electricity are available. In the industrial sector there has been peace without any big turmoil and agitation. With these factors working favorably, whatever industry is started, it can successfully operate to some extent and pave the way for industrial progress in Tamil Nadu.

In the past government administrative procedures produced so many delays and bottlenecks in starting an industry that entrepreneurs felt very frustrated. But now that the chief minister herself has given her approval to the schemes and instructed other departments to grant necessary permission without delays, some of the frustration will be prevented. The chief minister's appeal to start new industries in backward areas and give better job opportunities to women will be helpful for social uplift.

The Tamil Nadu government, in order to benefit from the Central Government's liberalized industrial policy, should attract entrepreneurs with concessions and facilities. To eliminate grievances of the industrialists and take quick action on approvals and orders on their requests and applications, every department should open up a green channel.

The chief minister, on her assumption of office, undertook many social welfare schemes, such as distribution of free dhotis and saris and giving financial aid worth billions of rupees to the people in every district in response to their requests; but they resulted only in temporary benefits. Her efforts to industrialize Tamil Nadu will bring about enormous benefits of a lasting nature. Tamil Nadu has made progress in agriculture already and will definitely increase the living conditions when considerable progress is made in the industrial sector too.

Securities Board Regulations on Insider Trading

93AS0386A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 10 Dec 92 pp 17, 28

[Article: "SEBI Regulations on Insider Trading"; bold-face words as published]

[Text] In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 30 of the Securities and Exchange Board of India [SEBI] Act 1992, the Board, with the prior approval of the Central Government, has made the SEBI (Insider Trading) Regulations.

The following is the text of the SEBI (Insider Trading) Regulations, 1992 which came into effect on November 19, 1992:

Chapter I: Preliminary

Short title and commencement: (1) These regulations may be called the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Insider Trading) Regulations, 1992.

(2) These regulations shall come into force on the date of the publication in the Official Gazette (November 19, 1992).

2. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) "Act" means the Securities and Exchange Board of India Act, 1992 (15 of 1992);

(b) "body corporate" means a body corporate as defined under Section 2 of the Companies Act, 1956 (1 of 1956);

(c) "connected person" means any person who (i) is a director, as defined in clause (13) of Section 2 of the Companies Act, 1956 (1 of 1956) of a company, or is deemed to be a director of that company by virtue of sub-clause (10) of Section 307 of that Act or;

(ii) occupies the position as an officer or an employee of the company or holds a position involving a professional

or business relationship between himself and the company and who may reasonably be expected to have access to unpublished price sensitive information in relation to that company;

(d) "dealing in securities" means an act of buying, selling or agreeing to buy, sell or deal in any securities by any person either as principal or agent;

(e) "insider" means any person who is or was connected with the company or is deemed to have been connected with the company, and who is reasonably expected to have access, by virtue of such connection, to unpublished price sensitive information in respect of securities of the company, or who has received or has had access to such unpublished price sensitive information;

(f) "investigating authority" means any officer of the Board or any other person, not being a firm, body corporate or an association of person having experience in dealing with the problems relating to the securities market and who is authorised by the Board under Chapter III;

(g) "officer of a company" means any persons as defined in clause (30) of Section 2 of the Companies Act, 1956 (1 of 1956) including an auditor of the company;

(h) "person is deemed to be a connected person" if such person—

(i) is a company under the same management or group or any subsidiary company thereof within the meaning of Section (1B) of Section 370, or sub-section (11) of Section 372, of the Companies Act, 1956 (1 of 1956) or sub-clause (g) of Section 2 of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969 (54 of 1969) as the case may be; or

(ii) is an official or a member of a stock exchange or of a clearing house of that stock exchange, or a dealer in securities within the meaning of clause (c) Section 2, and Section 17 of the Securities Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956 (42 of 1956) respectively or any employee of such member or dealer of a stock-exchange;

(iii) is a merchant banker, share transfer agent, registrar to an issue, debenture trustee, broker, portfolio manager, investment advisor, sub-broker, investment company or an employee thereof, or, is a member of the Board of Trustees of a mutual fund or a member of the Board of Directors of the Asset Management Company of a mutual fund or is an employee thereof who have a fiduciary relationship with the company;

(iv) is a member of the Board of Directors, or an employee, of a public financial institution as defined in Section 4A of the Companies Act, 1956; or

(v) is an official or an employee of a self regulatory organisation recognised or authorised by the board of a regulatory body; or

(vi) is a relative of any of the aforementioned persons;

(vii) is a banker of the company.

(i) "relative" means a person, as defined in Section 6 of the Companies Act, 1956 (1 of 1956);

(j) "stock exchange" means a stock exchange which is recognised by the Central Government under Section 4 of Securities Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956 (42 of 1956);

(k) "unpublished price sensitive information" means any information which relates to the following matters or is of concern, directly or indirectly, to a company, and is not generally known or published by such company for general information, but which, if published or known, is likely to materially affect the price of securities of that company in the market—

(i) financial results (both half yearly and annual) of the company;

(ii) intended declaration of dividends (both interim and final);

(iii) issue of shares by way of public rights, bonus, etc;

(iv) any major expansion plans or execution of new projects;

(v) amalgamation, mergers and takeovers;

(vi) disposal of the whole or substantially the whole of the undertaking;

(vii) such other information as may affect the earnings of the company;

(viii) any changes in policies, plans or operations of the company.

Chapter II: Prohibition on Dealing, Communicating or Counselling

Prohibition on dealing communicating or counselling on matters relating to insider trading:

3. No insider shall—

(i) either on his own behalf or on behalf of any other person, deal in securities of a company listed on any stock exchange on the basis of any unpublished price sensitive information;

(ii) communicate any unpublished price sensitive information to any person, with or without his request for such information, except as required in the ordinary course of business or under any law; or

(iii) counsel or procure any other person to deal in securities of any company on the basis of unpublished price sensitive information.

Violation of provisions relating to insider trading: 4. Any insider who deals in securities or communicates any information or counsels any person dealing in securities

in contravention of the provisions of regulation 3 shall be guilty of insider trading.

Investigation

Board's right to investigate: 5. (1) Where the Board, on the basis of written information in its possession, is of the opinion that it is necessary to investigate and inspect the books of account, other records and documents of an insider for any of the purposes specified in sub-regulation (2), it may appoint an investigating authority for the said purpose;

(2) The purposes referred to in sub-regulation (1) may be as follows:

(a) to investigate into the complaints received from investors, intermediaries or any other person on any matter having a bearing on the allegations of insider trading; and

(b) to investigate suo motu upon its own knowledge or information in its possession to protect the interest of investors in securities against breach of these regulations.

Procedure for investigation: 6. (1) Before undertaking an investigation under regulation 5 the Board shall give a reasonable notice to insider for that purpose.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-regulation (1), where the Board is satisfied that in the interest of investors or in public interest no such notice should be given, it may be an order in writing direct that the investigation be taken up without such notice.

(3) On being empowered by the board, the investigating authority shall undertake the investigation and inspection of books of accounts and insider against whom an investigation is being carried out shall be bound to discharge his obligations as provided in regulation 7.

Obligations of insider on investigation by the Board: 7. (1) It shall be the duty of every insider, who is being investigated, to produce to the investigating authority such books, accounts and other documents in his custody or control and furnish the authority with the statements and information relating to the transactions in securities market within such time as the said authority may require.

(2) The insider shall allow the investigating authority to have reasonable access to the premises occupied by such insider and also extend reasonable facility for examining any books, records, documents and computer data in his possessions of the stock broker or any other person and also provide copies of documents or other materials which, in the opinion of the investigating authority are relevant.

(3) The investigating authority, in the course of investigation, shall be entitled to examine or record statements of any member, director, partner proprietor and employee of the insider.

(4) It shall be the duty of every director, proprietor, partner, officer and employee of the insider to give to the investigating authority all assistance in connection with the investigation.

Submission of report to the Board: 8. The investigating authority shall, within one month of the conclusion of the investigation, submit an investigation report to the Board.

Communication of Findings etc.: 9. (1) The Board shall after consideration of the investigation report communicate the findings to the insider and he shall be given an opportunity of being heard before any action is taken.

(2) On receipt of the explanation, if any, from the insider, the Board may call upon the insider to take such measures as the Board may deem fit to protect the interest of investors and in the interest of the securities market.

Appointment of auditor: 10. Notwithstanding anything contained in regulation 5, the Board may appoint a qualified auditor to investigate into the books of account or the affairs of the insider;

Directions by the Board: 11. On the receipt of the explanation, if any, from the insider under sub-regulation (2) of regulation 9, the Board may without prejudice to its right to initiate criminal prosecution under Section 24 of the Act, give such directions to protect the interest of investors and in the interest of the securities market and for due compliance with the provisions of the Act, rules made thereunder and these regulations, as it deems fit for all or any of the following purposes, namely: -

- (a) directing the insider not to deal in securities in any particular manner;
- (b) prohibiting the insider from disposing of any of the securities acquired in violation of these regulations;
- (c) restraining the insider to communicate or counsel any person to deal in securities.

Appeal to the Central Government: 12. Any person aggrieved by an order of the board under these regulations may prefer an appeal to the Central Government.

Papers Report on Foreign Aid, Loans

Asian Development Bank

93AS0396A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 11 Dec 92 p 11

[Article: "ADB (Asian Development Bank) Agrees To Extend \$300-Million Loan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 10. The Asian Development Bank [ADB] has agreed to extend a \$300-million loan for

India's financial sector reforms and repeat the current year's ADB assistance of \$1 billion in the next year.

An agreement in principle to this effect was reached after a 50-minute meeting between the visiting ADB president, Mr. Kimimasa Tarimuzu and the Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh here today. The ADB president is on a two-day visit in connection with the opening of an ADB office here.

In an informal chat with presspersons, Dr. Manmohan Singh said during his discussions with Mr. Tarimuzu, he reviewed the progress of economy over the last 18 months and assured the ADB president that the recent occurrences in the country will not derail the reforms process. Dr. Manmohan Singh also conveyed to Mr. Tarimuzu the improvement in India's balance of payments position, control of inflation, improved climate for foreign direct investment, reforms in the public sector units and the social safety net.

Dr. Manmohan Singh indicated that the ADB president considered favourably the Indian request for continuation of the quick disbursal loans over the next two to three years. In the current year the quick disbursal component has been estimated at \$300 millions over and above \$300 millions to be made available by the end of this month for financial sector reforms covering both the capital markets and banks.

According to the Finance Minister, while the negotiations for financial sector reforms loan has been completed the \$300-million loan will be disbursed in two tranches.

Asked about the negative fall-out of political developments over the last few days in Ayodhya, the Minister said: "It was unfortunate that the aberration has come at this time. The country will absorb it and I don't think the process of reform will be derailed." He said even as a consequence of the scam there was no evidence of slow-down. Dr. Singh said all countries go through such crisis and observed, 'look at Tiananmen Square in China and what happened there.' 'Yet China was getting \$14 billions in foreign direct investment.' The Minister commented 'life is not a straight or linear path. The important thing is not to allow such things to happen.'

According to Dr. Manmohan Singh, in case it was not possible to introduce a bill amending critical provisions of FERA [Foreign Exchange Regulations Act] in the current session of Parliament then an Ordinance would be promulgated.

Dr. Manmohan Singh discussed with Mr. Tarimuzu sectoral reforms like capital market, public sector units, ports, coal and the energy sector.

EC Provisions

93AS0396B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 5 Dec 92 p 17

[Article: "EC Tie-Up Fund for Tech Transfer"]

[Text] New Delhi, December 4 (PTI). The European Community (EC) has extended a unique financial instrument to Indian industry and business to enable them to tie up with European companies for upgrading technical skills and transferring technology.

This was stated here today by the visiting senior officials of the commission of the European communities, Mr. P. Defraigne.

The EC's financial instrument, called the European Community investment partners (ECIP), is a seed capital joint venture fund.

The community has already approved joint venture proposals of two Indian companies, Minota Aquatech Ltd and STI Granite India Ltd, for financial assistance under the ECIP scheme.

Mr. Defraigne said the EC intended to assist European and local companies, federations of industry and chambers of commerce that wish to develop investment projects.

The financing might take the form of grant money, interest-free advances, equity or equity loans, he said.

With the signing of an agreement between the EC and the representatives of three Indian development banks—Exim Bank, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI) and Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), ECIP would rely on the services of these financial institutions to assess project proposals.

Mr. Defraigne said 30 project proposals had already been identified in India, in subjects ranging from the food industry, biotechnology, mining, quarrying and processing of granite, leather industry, potato chips, office automation, tools, coal, chemicals, nonferrous alloys and ceramics.

He said ECIP finance would be available as a banking product and has been conveyed to the companies through the banking system.

Under ECIP, four facilities were being made available which would cover the identification of projects and partners, the preparation and analysis of specific joint ventures, financing the capital needs and the development of human resources and technical assistance.

ECIP aims specifically at small and medium-sized companies, but large companies will also benefit, if their projects are particularly interesting for the development of the country.

Mr. Defraigne said seminars would be held in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras in the current fortnight to inform businessmen, the representatives of Indian banks, chambers of commerce and industrial bodies about the ECIP programmes.

Mr. Defraigne also touched upon the role of the European monetary union and the eventual integration of the 12-nation EC to make it a barrier-free trading community.

Grant From Japan

93AS0396C New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Dec 92
p 6

[Article: "Rs 53-Crore Japan Grant for India"]

[Text] Japan on Thursday agreed to extend to India grant assistance worth Rs 53.7 crore (yen 2.2 billion) for exploitation of ground water, construction of fishing vessels and debt relief, reports UNI.

The notes in this regard were exchanged and signed by Economic Affairs Secretary Montek Singh Ahluwalia and Japanese Ambassador to India Shunji Kobayashi.

Earlier this year, Japan had agreed to make available to India four grants totalling yen two billion.

With the agreement, the total amount of grants committed by Japan during 1992-93 has reached yen 4.2 billion almost twice the figure in the last fiscal year. The amount this year is by far the largest for India in the last five years.

The grant assistance includes a yen 1005 million grant for exploitation of ground water, a yen 947 million grant for construction of fishing vessels for deep sea and offshore fisheries and debt relief grant amounting to yen 289.015 million a Japanese Embassy press release said.

The eighth five year Plan places great emphasis on the exploitation of ground water resources.

Since 1987 the Central Ground Water Board has undertaken efforts to locate water resources deep underground, using four advanced percussion style rigs and other boring equipment procured under the Japanese grant assistance extended in 1989-90 and 1990-91, totalling yen 901 million.

As far as fishery is concerned, Japan is extending grant aid to India for procuring vessels to be constructed specially for deep sea and offshore fishery purposes.

The vessels will be used by the Integrated Fishery Project (IFP) Cochin.

Japan has been extending debt relief grant to countries facing problems of debt accumulation, in compliance with resolution 165 (on debt relief measures) of the Trade Development Board, UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development].

Decentralization Seen Key For Development

93AS0330B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 13 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Radhakrishna Bajaj: "Save the Country, Develop the Country, But How?"]

[Text] Indian independence descended like the holy Ganges from London in the year 1947, and it appears to have disappeared in Delhi's Red Fort. Its cool, collected composure touched simply the cities. We have to liberate the Ganges of independence from the clutches of Delhi and take it to the villages of India. Its calm and cool waters should reach every village; the entire country should taste freedom; the villages should have the right of self-government; every hand should be employed; every belly should have food; and no one should be below the poverty line. Only then will the whole of India be considered free. The right of self-governance for the villages is the only hope for saving the country. It would encourage cottage industries, and every one would have food on the table; only then the country will be saved. We are happy that during the Congress convention at Trupati, the prime minister gave the slogan, "Save the Country—Develop the Country." If our plans are developed in accordance with this slogan, and we keep the villages of India in mind, then this country will certainly survive and progress.

During the 45 years of independence, our cities have become established, while our villages stand neglected. The buildings in the cities are reaching 30 stories high, whereas the humble huts of the villagers and of the villagers who migrate to the cities are sinking down in the ground. Village India has remained tormented and sick. It is forced to live a life of slavery. These folks who build palaces for others do not even have enough to cover their skin. Those who provide for the entire country are destined to go hungry. The one who earns all the riches laments for the education of his children and for his medical needs. The source of the power of the nation and the kingmaker of the country is himself oppressed and ruled. He is deprived of all rights. In the modern age, the 80

of India in the villages is so destined.

To gain freedom from slavery to Delhi, the farmer and the youth will have to awaken. Today, the future of both is in danger. War will not bring any monetary gain to the youth, but will burden them with debts for the rest of their lives. They also will not land government employment. Self-employment will be their best bet. The farmer will get spoiled land, polluted water, and poisoned food. The life of both, the farmer and the youth, will be dependent on the benevolence of the cities. In reality, according to the Constitution, absolute power resides in the voters; that means in villages. Because of our ignorance, it has gone to Delhi, and the villages have become vulnerable.

The day villagers realize this truth, the power will be exercised by the villagers, and Delhi will get only that

power that is given to it. There are three conditions for relief from slavery to Delhi:

- (1) For the sake of national security, essentials, such as the departments of foreign affairs, security, home, commerce, transportation, communication, etc., should be vested in the Center. The rest that make daily life liveable should be bestowed to the village organizations.
- (2) There should be a complete ban on the slaughtering of cows and bulls—the pillars of the Indian agricultural and local commercial system, and the bloodstream of the Indian culture. Export of meats and hides and foodstuff consumed by humans and animals should be stopped.
- (3) There should be an abundance of food and employment in the villages. No one should fall below the poverty line. Processing of food and clothing must be done in the villages. The work that can be accomplished by human or animal labor should not be mechanized. Only the initiation of processing foodstuff and clothing in villages will provide employment and food for every one. Three hundred million people now below the poverty line will be able to rise above it.

After independence, in the name of development, heavy taxation was imposed, probably the highest in the world. Large foreign loans were obtained. A major portion of this resource was used to fund the administrators and the bureaucracy, and only a small portion was devoted to develop production and income. The rulers and the bureaucracy adopted self-development in lieu of developing the country. At the time we gained independence, we had 2,000,000 bureaucrats; today its number has swelled to 185,000,000. If the earnings of the poor are invested for the well-being of these bureaucrats, then how long will the country survive? This poses a basic and fundamental question. Today these bureaucrats act as dictators; instead they will have to change their attitude to that of servants of the people. It seems that the English bureaucracy is still ruling us. In other words we are now slaves to the slaves of the English. Such should be intolerable to any Indian.

To develop the country, human and animal resources and natural solar energy will have to be utilized to the fullest to increase the country's revenue. Alternative employment for the millions, the bureaucrats who will be relieved of governmental employment, will have to be generated in the villages, so that no one is without food and employment. The villagers need not go to the cities in search of employment, food, education, and justice. At least it will have to be done so that they may not indulge in immoral acts and liquor. The progress of a country is not achieved by laws alone. No country can progress without elevating its morals. Our halls of justice and police both are responsible for uplifting or degrading of national morals. Their status will have to be boosted.

Growth of Navy Submarine Arm Reviewed

93AS0380A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 9 Dec 92 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[TEXT] New Delhi, December 8 (PTI). Operating in utmost stealth and secrecy, the epitome, of offensive defence—the submarine arm of the Indian navy—turns 25 today.

This "silent arm of the Indian navy," whose success in pinning enemy ships down to their harbors in the 1971 war with Pakistan—its only wartime operation—contributed to the country's eventual victory.

From a single Russian Foxtrot class submarine—INS Kalvari—in 1967, the country's submarine strength has grown to 18 "predators of the deep". The experiences of operating and maintaining a nuclear-propelled submarine over the past three years, and running two indigenously built boats, are matters of justifiable pride for the "25-year young" submarine arm, according to a navy source.

The submarine arm of the navy was conceptualized and had its blue-print drawn in August 1947, but it was not until the early 'sixties' that the decision was reached to acquire them.

But once the "deterrent" value of the submarine was realized, the arm grew steadily. The keel for the future was laid with the first batch of officers and sailors, who underwent submarine training in the United Kingdom in 1962. On this day, 27 years ago at Riga in Russia, the 'arm' came into existence, with the commissioning of INS Kalvari, with Commander (now Commodore) K.S. Subramanian in command.

The arrival of INS Kalvari, in India in July 1968 coincided with the starting of work on INS Virabahu, the submarine base of the navy in Vishakhapatnam. The same year, the second Foxtrot class submarine, INS Khanderi, and the submarine depot ship, INS Amba, were commissioned. By the end of the following year, two more F class submarines augmented India's undersea armada—INS Karanj and INS Kursura.

INS Satvahana, along with INS Virabahu, was established in the late 'sixties.' It has an escape training school, the only one of its kind in Asia.

The alumnus of the schools of submarine training had their first taste of war-time operations in the 1971 war, when they were deployed on patrol in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea.

Their efforts resulted in netting one Maha Vir Chakra, two Vir Chakras and two Nausena medals—for keeping the enemy ships at bay. The aftermath of the war saw the formation of the Ninth Submarine Squadron, consisting of four Vela class submarines, an improved version of the Foxtrots.

The period between the mid-'seventies' and the mid-'eighties' was marked by a lull in the acquisition of submarines, during which time experience was gained in the operation of these submarines.

Following a decision taken in 1980, the lethal Soviet Kilo class submarine, the Sindhughush series, was added between 1986 and 1989. Though conventionally powered by diesel and batteries, the Kilo class submarines have wide hulls, which provide added space for weapons and sensors.

India's need for a small, power-packed submarine was fulfilled by the purchase of two German HDW class-209 type 1,500 boats (Shishumar series) equipped with anti-ship and anti-submarine functions. A new impetus was given to the submarine arm with the arrival in 1988 of INS Chakra, a Charlie 1 nuclear submarine on lease from Russia for three years.

India's submarine indigenization program was heralded by the commissioning of INS Shalki, a Shishukumar class vessel, designed and built at the Mazagon docks in Bombay.

Search for New Plane for Air Force Denied

93AS0379A New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 2 Dec 92
p 6

[TEXT] Pune, Dec 1 (UNI). Chief of Air Staff Air Chief Marshal N.C. Suri today denied that the Indian Air Force (IAF) was looking for a new aircraft.

Asked to comment on press reports regarding the likely purchase of the British "Tornado" aircraft, he told reporters here, "I have not asked for Tornados though I have seen the plane during my visit to London some time ago."

The Air Chief Marshal, who was in Pune for the golden jubilee celebrations of the sixth squadron said the IAF was always conscious of the expenses the new aircraft would incur and hence "we have prioritized our requirements".

The air force is trying to attain maximum self sufficiency by indigenization of spares to keep the fleet of aircraft flying in peace. If it is not possible we have to consider whether we could replace our aircraft with the indigenous LCA (Light Combat Aircraft), which was supposed to be a "low cost aircraft", the air chief remarked.

On the much talked of Advanced Jet Trainers (AJTS) for the Indian Air Force, Mr Suri reiterated that the air force has shortlisted the British "Hawks" and the French Alfa jets.

The purchase would be made by the year end after the Government decides on either of these, he said.

Admitting that the delay in acquiring the AJTS has affected the training, the air chief said had the Air Force received the AJTS earlier, the number of accidents could have been lessened.

Concern Expressed Over Burma Naval Base

93AS0378A *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 3 Dec 92 p 13

[TEXT] Rangoon, Dec 2 (Reuters). Myanmar is building a new naval base in the Irrawaddy delta and upgrading other facilities at both ends of its coast.

These developments have worried India because of possible Chinese involvement, diplomats said.

China has already become a major arms supplier to the Rangoon as it embarks on an expansion of its armed forces.

A new naval base is being constructed at Hanggyi island at the mouth of the Bassein river, diplomats said.

It is also believed that existing facilities at Sittwe, near the Bangladesh border, and Mergui on the southern Isthmus near the Thai border, are being improved.

A base on Great Coco island, just north of India's Andaman islands, is also being upgraded, diplomats believe.

"No one is really sure what they are doing," said an Asian diplomat.

"India is worried and the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] should be worried too," he added.

ASEAN, the association of south-east Asian nations, groups Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei.

Senior foreign ministry official, Mr. U. Aye, while giving no details of any program, said a naval build-up was necessary because of increased poaching by Thai fishing boats in Burmese waters.

The government sporadically battles Karen ethnic rebels in the Irrawaddy delta and wanted to block any attempts by the Karen, whose main forces are along the Thai border, from linking up with Moslem rebels in Arakan state in the west, he said.

"They can certainly justify having more patrol boats but there would be no justification for a blue-water fleet," said another diplomat.

He said it was believed that China had made a generous offer to assist in building the marine base but it seemed to have been turned down.

Madras: Power Supply Plummets To Lowest Level

93AS0358B Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
3 Dec 92 p 3

[Article: "Power Generation Plummets at NLC (Neyveli Lignite Corporation)"; boldface words as published]

[Text] **Express News Service - Madras**—Supply of power by the Neyveli Lignite Corporation [NLC] to the Tamil Nadu grid dropped on Wednesday to one of the lowest in recent times, 445 MW against the total installed capacity of 1,440 MW.

Information available here indicates that normal generation is not expected to resume before the end of December. The reasons for the low level of generation are "annual maintenance work, turbine problems, cooling water problems" and the like. The NLC management is beset with serious labour disputes which are affecting normal operations of both the thermal stations, it is further learnt from official sources.

Thermal station I (600 MW capacity) provided a relief of just 195 MW while thermal station II (840 MW) supplied 250 MW.

Despite the shortfall in the quantum of relief, the state grid has had no difficulty in meeting the demand, thanks

to fairly good generation as the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board's [TNEB] own hydel and thermal stations. The Ennore station produced 210 MW, Tuticorin 620 MW and Mettur 615 MW, and the hydel generation amounted to 769 MW. The Central sector Madras Atomic Power Station, Kalpakkam, fed 240 MW and the National Thermal Power Corporation's Ramagundam station another 355 MW.

For the TNEB, the current water year (July, 1992-June 1993) has so far been very good. Its hydel reservoirs, with a total capacity of an equivalent of have 2,400 million units, have a comfortable storage of 2,251 million units (against 2,102 m.u. on the same date last year). With the resources available, the state is confident of tackling the next summer without problems. The state is totally free from any power cut and the position will be maintained during the coming year also, according to sources.

As the rate of consumption continues to be high at 67 million units per day, the board has necessarily to keep up the rate of generation at the maximum level. The recent rains were expected to bring down power consumption by farmers, but this did not happen.

Meanwhile, the Board has built a comfortable stock of coal, 6.5 lakh tonnes.

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